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Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 725
EDITORIALS:
The Unconditional Surrender 728
What Is Americanism Anyway? 729
Municipal Reform—a Suggestion 730
No War With England. VI. The Bearing of International Finance 731
The Poet and the World 732
THOSE BLACK TROOPS ON THE RHINE—AND THE WHITE. By Lewis S. Gannett 733
WOULD THE USE OF GOLD BRING DOWN THE COST OF LIVING? By John Kane Mills 735
IRELAND TODAY—SIR HORACE PLUNKETT'S PLAN. By Sir Horace Plunkett 738
SILESIA—THE NEW PLAGUE SPOT. By Dorothy Meirowsky 739
CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN NOVELISTS. V. JOSEPH HERGESHEIMER. By Carl Van Doren 741
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 743
CORRESPONDENCE 743
MARY MAGDALENE. By Leonora Speyer 744
BOOKS:
The Italian in America. By Arthur Warner 744
Shakespeare's Lost Years. By Samuel C. Chew 745
The Press and Politics in Japan. By William Elliot Griffis 745
The Peace Conference. By William MacDonald 746
War and Peace. By Mark Van Doren 747
The Kaiser vs. Bismarck. By Carl Becker 747
A Pyramid of Errors. By B. U. Burke 748
E. D. Morel. By W. E. B. Du Bois 749
Rebels 749
Books in Brief 749½
Notable New Books 749½
DRAMA:
Last Flights. By Ludwig Lewisohn 750½
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Memoir on the Political, Economic, and Financial Conditions Existing in the Republic of Haiti under the American Occupation by the Delegates to the United States of the Union Patriotique d'Haïti 751

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THE NATION *takes pleasure in announcing the addition to its contributing editors of a great citizen of France whom it is surely not invidious partiality to call the most eminent living man of letters—Anatole France.*

"IN the eighth round between Lloyd George and Briand the Englishman jabbed hard with his left and landed heavily with his right. The blood came, but recovering himself the Frenchman put an uppercut where it would do the most good"—it is thus that one is tempted to describe the recent encounter between the two Prime Ministers. Both men indubitably hit hard; no more amazing statement has been made by a head of a government about an ally in many years than Lloyd George's charging the French with bad faith in the matter of Silesia. Almost equally astonishing is Briand's countering with the assertion that Lloyd George is talking falsely for political effect. It is unseemly, if you please, and yet a matter for rejoicing; for if politicians like these fall out honest men may come a little bit more into the truth that should be their own. Mr. Lloyd George also did not spare the Poles. He recalled that they had claimed the taking of Vilna was an accidental outburst of feeling and that the Polish "irregulars" have stayed there nonetheless in defiance of the League of Nations, but he asserted that the repetition of this "accident" in Silesia bore entirely too much the aspect of a habit. Unquestionably the Polish Government has been aware of what was going to happen and, although the dispatches are confused and contradictory, there are some which report that French troops have been fighting with the Poles as well as against them.

IT is of course quite too early to assume that there is going to be a real break between the French and the English. Undoubtedly both Premiers have talked somewhat for effect and at this writing it looks as though they would once more get together and find a *modus vivendi*. At the same time, in view of the fact that there has been a tremendous change in public opinion in England about France since 1918 and in France about England, there is a limit to which statesmen may go in thus imputing motives to each other. Indubitably Lloyd George is really frightened at the situation just two years after the signing of the marvelous Treaty of Versailles; he is certainly justified in believing that if there is to be a new war in Europe the chances are slim for civilization to survive there. He is but just, too, to the Germans in saying that they ought to have the right to defend that which is theirs, but they for once have shown good judgment in refusing to take advantage of that statement to rush into Silesia and so court a French invasion of the Ruhr. But at the rate their masters are going about the Germans can afford to sit still and be patient. The simple fact is that England wants Germany's trade and France wants Germany's destruction. There is no reconciling of these two policies under their present leaderships. Never, never did a wicked treaty revenge itself so quickly upon its authors.

IF the League of Nations actually carries out its scheme for the economic reconstruction of Austria through a practical receivership in the hands of a committee of experts, it will almost have justified its existence. Painful as it is for a nation to submit to outside dictation, even of a helpful sort, Austria is in a state of economic despair deep enough to make welcome any interference that brings with it hope of survival. The readiness of the Austrian Government to fall in with the plan of the League and to offer guaranties of good faith should make the work of the experts smooth if not easy. This committee will be the virtual government of Austria. It will act as trustee for the management of all Austrian assets on behalf of present holders of liens and of the countries or institutions furnishing new funds under the League scheme. It will control the purposes to which Austria shall apply the proceeds of loans and credits, and no external loans may be obtained without the approval of the committee. In return the committee will be shouldered with the responsibility of saving Austria—no small order. However successful the League of Nations may be in this venture it must not be allowed to consider the arrangement a final one. Austria, shorn of its non-German territories, cannot stand alone.

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WE are happy to set forth elsewhere Sir Horace Plunkett's program for Ireland today. A constructive plan is always welcome even if at all points it does not in our judgment meet the situation. Since this article was written the Irish elections have shown that the South of Ireland is overwhelmingly committed to the Republican idea—even the dispatches from England admit that; there is even prospect that the Sinn Feiners will make an astounding showing in Ulster. But whether that is or is not a correct forecast there are encouraging rumors that Lloyd George and De Valera are to come together. Peace stock has undeniably risen because of developments which as yet only the insiders know about. But while this is happening there has been such a shocking recrudescence of outrage, and killing, with Sinn Fein carrying the war into London itself, as to prove how completely the British military has failed in its task, and how utterly the Lloyd George policy has collapsed. It is a profound shame to England that the matter of a settlement is allowed to drag on a day at such a cost. Meanwhile we hope our readers will not fail to note that Sir Horace Plunkett, who has achieved such great things for Ireland along economic lines and is everywhere known as a fair and judicially minded man, does not hesitate to speak of the "Irish Republican army," and insist that a majority of the Irish people will continue to fight just as long as the present English policy continues.

THE new Postmaster-General has had some excellent words to say about his determination that the censorship of the press shall stop. He insists that the Harding Administration has no idea of imitating Mr. Wilson's offenses in this connection. For that he deserves all possible praise. But the good news does not yet seem to have reached his subordinates. Thus, the *Free Voice*, the weekly organ of the International Workers in the Amalgamated Food Industries, has been declared non-mailable by the New York City post office. Then Mr. Burleson's Solicitor, W. H. Lamar, who was probably responsible for the worst decisions in Mr. Wilson's regime, is specially employed by Mr. Hays to oppose the efforts of the New York *Call* to regain its second-class mailing rights, instead of which Mr. Hays ought to quash the whole proceeding and admit error. Mr. Lamar is still contending that the *Call* was trying to upset our Government during the war and was otherwise seditious and treasonable. To this the *Call* naturally and effectively replies by asking why it was that the editors of the paper were never prosecuted by our ever-vigilant Department of Justice. As we have said before, Mr. Lamar has one of the finest Prussian minds ever seen in authority in America, and Mr. Hays should lose no time in returning him to private life entirely.

GOVERNOR MILLER boasts that the New York Legislature of 1921 will be remembered for a long time because of its good record. We wish that the same might be said of him, but he has sadly offset the good he has done by approving the new sedition bills. Although he has been a judge, the Governor was anything but judicial at the hearings before him on these bills, and they degenerated into an attack upon the personality of those opposing. Boiled down the Governor's memorandum of approval comes to the fact that these bills reach the people whom Governor Miller and those in power do not like. He obstinately refuses to see that the weapons which he has forged for school boards will not be used merely against open seditionists but against any reformers exercising their constitutional right to advocate peaceful alteration of the Government of the United States if these teachers have in any way incurred the ill will of those in authority over them. It is not even clear that the bill requiring teachers to take an oath of loyalty is legal, for it seems to conflict with a constitutional provision that every public officer shall take a prescribed oath and that "no other oath, declaration, or test shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust." If the teacher is not a public official what is he? As for the bill licensing private schools, it is avowedly passed solely to get at schools which teach economic doctrines those in power do not like. It is an utterly foolish and un-American thing to attempt to check and outlaw ideas that are not yet accepted by the majority, and this bill, too, is capable of great misuse even from Governor Miller's point of view.

"DISARM or bust"—this is, according to Mr. William Gibbs McAdoo, our only alternative. Franklin Roosevelt, too, lately dictator of Haiti and Santo Domingo, and urgent pleader for the largest, or "most adequate," navy in the world, is ready to disarm. Yet both of these gentlemen while in the Wilson Administration were insistent that if we did not enter into the League of Nations we must forever after be armed to the uttermost. Strange how cooling is a bit of experience in private life, where one pays and does not create tax bills! We heartily welcome these conversions just as we rejoice in the change of heart of many churchmen. Striking, too, is the enthusiasm of the Woman's Party under Mrs. Catt and Miss Elizabeth Hauser, chairman of the new special committee on disarmament. They are throwing themselves into the cause with great earnestness and determination. In Washington Senator Borah continues to carry on his admirable fight for a small army and a naval conference. The House has limited the army to 150,000 men despite protests from Secretary Weeks who asks for 175,000. Even that force is to cost us no less than $332,000,000—but then per man we have always had the costliest army in the world. In the Senate the swollen Navy bill is being strongly attacked by Senators Borah, Norris, Kenyon, Heflin, and others. Congressman Mondell, the Republican floor leader, speaking in Philadelphia, has declared that we have the greatest opportunity to disarm ever offered to a people, adding these words:

> As the condition of the world's affairs affords us this wonderful opportunity, it also lays upon us a great duty and responsibility. As we are the only nation that can logically and without embarrassment propose the limitation of armaments, it becomes our bounden duty—a duty we cannot dodge or escape—to do it, and to do it as quickly as we may when conditions seem ripe for success.

ON May 11 the Rev. Dr. William T. Manning was consecrated tenth Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of New York. "The procession was a most imposing one."

> Apse, altar, architrave,
> Chasuble, rochet, pyx, chimere,
> Clerestory, nave,
> Throne, mitre, incense, sheer
>
> Surplices like snow,
> Choir boys caroling like throstles:
> *It was not so*
> *With Jesus and the twelve Apostles.*

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IT was entirely on the cards that Governor Dorsey would get into trouble with his fellow-Georgians by telling the truth about the ghastly conditions in his State. His pamphlet, "The Negro in Georgia," which relates 135 cases of peonage, unpunished lynching of innocent persons, of shameless cruelty, and almost unbelievable brutality has called down their wrath upon his head. A mass meeting of the "Guardians of Liberty" to consider his impeachment has been called in the following fashion:

> Unless Mr. Dorsey is impeached every Georgian will be *particeps criminis* in his crime of blackening, while history lasts, the character of the fairest mother man ever had—Georgia. No living man will stand by while a villain defiles his mother. Georgia—our mother—is being defiled before the world. And, by the help of the eternal God, he shall answer for it.

GOVERNOR DORSEY'S offense was that he was both honest and brave, and that his was the first constructive program offered by a Georgia public official to make his State something other than the plague spot of our American civilization. He proposes new State laws to protect the Negroes and to check violence. If any one doubts that Georgia's savagery is deep-seated let him send for the report of "The Lynchings of May, 1918, in Brooks and Lowndes Counties, Georgia," published in pamphlet form by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and read the account of the killing of Mary Turner, an innocent woman in the eighth month of her pregnancy, because she had said that if she knew who were the lynchers of her husband—also an innocent man—she would have warrants sworn out for them. It was only when the murders of peons became wholesale that the whole rotten fabric to which *The Nation* has called attention for years was fully exposed. Now it becomes evident that the dastards who commit these unspeakable crimes are not the ones of whom Georgia wishes to purge herself. The real criminal is the man who faces the truth and thereby casts aspersions on "the fair name of the sovereign State of Georgia."

EVEN persons who can get 100 per cent on Mr. Edison's questions may be at a loss to tell in what part of our country dyes are grown to an extent that makes it necessary to include them in an "emergency tariff" to protect American farmers. The action is easier to understand now that Senator Moses of New Hampshire has told us that in 1920 the weak and impoverished infant dye industry disbursed over $104,000 for "legislative expenditures," maintaining "one of the most highly organized, best paid, and arrogant lobbies that the Capitol has ever seen." About $50,000 went in counsel fees, half and half to Joseph H. Choate, Jr. and to a former Federal judge, while according to last reports a further $21,000 was still owing to Mr. Choate. What was done in return for these sums Senator Moses describes thus:

> Mr. Choate has spent no inconsiderable portion of his time in roaming about the country addressing parlor meetings of ladies in advocacy of national defense to be obtained by giving his clients an absolute monopoly in the dyestuffs market of America. What crimes are committed in the name of preparedness when a liberal fee is attached thereto!

An infant industry that cries to the extent of $104,000 a year does not need the financial caresses of a maternally-disposed nation. It needs a spanking.

SECRETARY DENBY'S instantaneous characterization of the charges contained in the Haitian Memoir as "rot" refutes itself. Doubtless he had not even read the Memoir; otherwise he would have displayed more caution in the face of so-well documented, so factual an indictment. Moreover the Secretary of the Navy directly contravenes the position taken by his chief, President Harding, during the recent campaign. Mr. Denby is a former marine. Apparently he considers that the honor of the Marine Corps must be vindicated by an absolute denial that any marines are in any way guilty of wrongdoing. This is a poor conception of his office. The men who commit atrocities are the ones who "besmirch the uniform"—not those who try for the sake of the good name of the entire organization and of the country to bring the offenders to book. According to the Haitian press Mr. Denby spent just twenty-four hours in Port-au-Prince and then left by automobile overland for Santo Domingo. He declares that in many of the villages visited he saw "arches and banners carrying the legend *Vive La Occupatione*" [*sic*]. Possibly. But if so they were written in marine French. Of course everyone knows how happy the conquered always are under a foreign military occupation. Remember those happy Belgians!

NO impartial reader of the Haitian Memoir will doubt the truth of its charges, especially in the face of the obvious avoidance of them by the two whitewash inquiries instituted by Secretary Daniels. We need an honest, fearless, searching Congressional investigation to establish the character not only of the military but of the civil administration in Haiti for the last six years, and of the real causes which prompted the overthrow of Haitian sovereignty—an act fundamentally incompatible with every American tradition. Such an inquiry would furnish the basis for future American policy in the Caribbean. *The Nation* feels certain that it would establish that we have no right whatever in Haiti, that our aggression was wholly unjustified, and that we owe the Haitian people as well as ourselves restoration of the edifice we have shattered, besides retirement and reparation. Denials, whitewash, and propaganda cannot obscure the fundamental issue. Haiti must not become either America's Belgium or America's Ireland.

THAT the world's greatest medical center is to be created through a union of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University and the Presbyterian Hospital, coupled with other great gifts, is gratifying and important news. Despite the stupendous progress made in medical science in the last two generations—for modern medicine dates virtually from the discoveries of Pasteur and Lister—it is still in its infancy. Great fields are still unexplored, and much material, the product of forty years of clinical observation and laboratory research, is as yet little understood and remains to be clarified. Only by coordinating the various and now rapidly diverging specialties in medicine is the fullest progress possible. New York City, which affords the finest clinical material, is the logical site. But the $15,000,000 necessary to complete this great project, which will mean so much for the advancement of mankind and the alleviation of human suffering, is pathetically small when one considers that it is but one-half the cost of a modern dreadnought, built not to alleviate suffering but to inflict it.

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WHEN President Hibben delivers an address in German to a visiting German notable it is safe to assume that the war is practically over. Perhaps "First in, first out" is the Princeton motto. President Hibben had declared war on Germany months before the United States took up arms, and his present example in declaring peace might well be followed by the Government. It may feel sure that Princeton would not lightly come to terms with the enemy.

IT is a pleasure to record another victory for the new penology according to the gospel of normalcy. First we had brother-in-law Votaw fresh from the missionary fields of India, chosen by the President for Superintendent of Federal Prisons. Now we are called upon to celebrate the appointment of J. E. Dyche of Oklahoma as warden of the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta. The professional qualifications of the new warden are set forth in a statement given out by the Attorney General. He was campaign manager for the late "Jake" Hamon, whose sad death at the hands of Clara Smith we still mourn. But it was not because of his knowledge of crime and criminals that the astute Dyche was selected. The real reason is given by the Attorney General, as follows: "This appointment would smooth out a serious factional fight among Oklahoma Republicans." There is a lot of fiddle-faddle about criminology in the air these days. There are theorists who talk about mental tests and psychiatric examination and treatment of criminals, and the recent congress of the American Prison Association, made up largely of prison administrators, was mainly devoted to the discussion of the scientific management of penal institutions. There is even a growing conviction in the public mind that there is more than an accidental connection between crime waves and the stupid mismanagement of our State and Federal prisons by the ordinary run of political incumbents. But how impertinent all this is to the vital issue of smoothing out factional fights among the Republicans of Oklahoma!

THE Belgian Government is calling a Second International Conference of Child Welfare to meet in Brussels July 18-21 of this year. Belgian experts realize that in spite of the excellent work for child welfare which has been carried on for a number of years, a huge task lies before them in meeting the new conditions set in train by the war. The experience of other nations is being sought to ascertain what methods have yielded the best results in dealing with juvenile delinquents, with abnormal children, with the health of mothers and children, with war orphans. On the other hand, efforts made by the Belgian people to safeguard the moral and physical health of children have placed their country in the front rank of progressive States. The generosity, efficiency, and skill displayed by the Belgians in their relief work during the war can never be too highly praised by American workers in Belgium, who declare that without the splendid enthusiasm and unbounded devotion of the Belgians themselves their own efforts would have been in vain. A scientifically drawn picture such as will be presented at this coming conference of the effects of war upon the childhood of nations and of the measures taken to offset them ought to prove rich in lessons of world-wide application. It is believed that many Americans will wish to attend. Information may be obtained from the chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

The Unconditional Surrender

SO another great Allied victory has been won. The German lies prostrate again. As unconditionally as Lee at Appomattox he has delivered himself up once more to his enemies with promises to observe in all respects a treaty which its makers spit upon as they like and enforce as they choose. He is to disarm—as he should; he is to try his war culprits—as he should have done a year ago; and he promises to pay sums which no financier ever dared mention in by-gone days. He has signed his name to a document which the honest among his opponents know he cannot live up to, which many economists declare is not possible of execution. For that he will in due course probably pay another price. It will be said of him that his was only a Punic faith and a Punic troth; that the truth was not and could not be in him.

Well, for the nonce this clears the skies. The fear has passed that the Allies would do themselves their greatest injury since the peace. European civilization has another reprieve; the economic world has escaped another deadly blow. The French nation has been saved another of the missteps through which it is losing the profound sympathy and admiration of mankind. But what now? Are we all to breathe anew and dismiss the whole matter, or watch with disdain the Germans at their Sisyphean tasks? If so it is but a slim victory, indeed—and so it would appear. For the French army is to remain at its watch on the Rhine, ready to pounce if a dollar is delayed or a man untried or a gun undelivered. The French imperialists, the Parisian *haute finance*, plainly feel themselves balked of their prey. It is the Ruhr they seek far more than indemnities, and reparations less than the permanent crippling of a skilled economic rival. For the sober moral sense of the French people, and particularly for the sober moral sense of the British nation, the opportunity is now afforded really to take the Christian attitude toward an enemy who is undeniably hard to deal with, is confused in his statements, blundering in what passes for his statesmanship. The reported words of Lloyd George point the way. He is for the immediate withdrawal of the troops that in March advanced to the edge of the Ruhr, for the abolition of the senseless new custom houses, for giving the Germans an actual chance to show good faith.

It is as if the voice of Campbell-Bannerman spoke again. Certainly, memories of what rich dividends England reaped in 1914 because of her wise and generous policy to the Boers in 1906 ought to point the road today. Lloyd George aided Briand to have his way. Now is the time for him to have his own desire, which must surely be to take the pistol from the victim's forehead so that he may bend undisturbed to his unheard-of tasks. For the United States the new situation opens the way again. Was there ever such an opportunity for world service? The whole world still looks to America to lead toward a new and sound world-order. Is there not understanding in State Department or White House that no such opportunity for moral and spiritual leadership ever knocked at a nation's door before? Is there no program and no plan to be forthcoming? It seems unthinkable, for at no time since the last shot was fired has the way been so clear as in May, 1921, and there is evidence in plenty that Europe would as eagerly welcome our altruistic leadership today as in 1917.

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What Is Americanism Anyway?

WE have received the following letter from the Superintendent of Schools of New York City:

May 3, 1921

I am in receipt of your letter of April 29, "concerning the denial to the Rev. John Haynes Holmes of the opportunity of speaking in our public schools because of his want of Americanism," and in which you ask that I give a definition of exactly what I interpret Americanism to mean.

Permit me to state that my conception of Americanism may be found fully within the four corners of the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Gettysburg Address.

I fully appreciate that the Reverend Dr. Holmes, who states "I hate the existing social idea, both national and international, in all its basic, political, and economic phases as the acme of injustice, oppression, and human wretchedness," must find it very difficult to square his views with the political doctrines therein set forth. Very truly yours,

WILLIAM L. ETTINGER

It is stimulating to learn that Mr. Ettinger approves of the Declaration of Independence, especially in view of certain doctrines which we happen to remember in it: such as that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it"; and that when a "long train of abuses and usurpations . . . evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government." Mr. Ettinger, it seems, is something of a revolutionist.

But now comes to our attention an interesting book called "The Community Capitol" (Mayflower Press) by the Hon. M. Clyde Kelly, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, in which there is a story we should be loath to believe had we not been assured by Congressman Kelly that the story is really true and had we not, alas, seen too many examples of the same general sort in the past six or seven years. It seems that early in 1920 Mr. Edward J. Ward, of the United States Bureau of Education, gave a series of lectures in the Franklin School in Washington for the benefit of community workers, teachers, and others who might be interested. Intending to use the Declaration of Independence as the basis of his discourses, he asked that his hearers each bring with them a printed copy of the document for reference. Mrs. William Wolff Smith, wife of a major in the United States Army, thought of asking the printing office at the Walter Reed Hospital to furnish copies of the Declaration for the lectures. The plan was placed before an officer of the Surgeon General's Office and was approved, and the text was sent to the printers. The copies, however, were not delivered. Mrs. Smith went to inquire for them, and was met at first with evasive replies.

At last the officer in charge told her that it had been officially decided that it would be unwise to print the Declaration of Independence by the War Department, because it would be an act of discourtesy to our friends, the British, and also that in the inflamed state of the public mind such a publication might increase social unrest and a tendency to bolshevism. The officer stated, without equivocation, that, for these reasons, the copies of the Declaration of Independence would not be issued from the printing office maintained by the War Department of the United States Government.

How are simple inquirers for the truth about Americanism to square the differing views of Mr. Ettinger and the War Department regarding the importance of the Declaration to good Americans? It seems very hard. We refrain, however, from demanding that Mr. Ettinger be taken in hand by the War Department as an inciter to social unrest and bolshevism, and proceed with our simple inquiry. Perhaps the Navy Department will help us. Buried deep in a metropolitan daily of May 11, another perplexing item meets our eyes. It seems that a certain John C. Shurilla of Pittsburgh was recently convicted of murder in the first degree for shooting a certain John Sherga in the back and robbing him. Having, according to the newspaper, communicated to the Navy Department in 1917 a device which was of use in combating the submarine menace, Shurilla, or some one for him, applied for help to the Naval Consulting Board, and received the following letter from Rear Admiral W. S. Brothers Smith:

We are very sorry to hear that you are in serious trouble, but we have taken up your case with the Naval Consulting Board of the United States. We will assist you all we can on account of your assistance during the war. You are a true American citizen.

Doubtless Admiral Smith sent this letter on his private responsibility, but no one, so far as we know, has protested against his conduct. Are murder and robbery sustained by the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Gettysburg Address? We cannot find convincing evidence to that effect in the documents themselves.

Or can it be, we wonder, that those great state papers have been misrepresented to us? We have long cherished the opinion that the Declaration was a mighty voice of freedom sounding against our tyrannical governors, and that in holding to it as an honorable charter of our political rights we have the obligation to keep it fresh in our memories and to see that we do not yield to the same tyranny in any new guise whatever. But what if our War Department denies the Declaration to us? We have long had the notion that the Constitution of the United States, adopted after independence had been achieved, has as one of its great functions the task of preserving the fundamental liberties of the people—among which are the rights of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, petition for redress of grievances, security against unreasonable search and seizure, immunity from cruel and unusual punishments. Yet we have lately seen such violations of these constitutional guaranties as make us wonder what, after all, the Constitution is really for if the Department of Justice can dispense with it so ruthlessly and so safely. And as to the Gettysburg Address, we remember that it is a plea of surpassing and moving eloquence for the living to carry on the great work of the devoted dead. Is this work carried on by a War Department which practices an outrageous obscurantism? Or by a Navy Department in which one of its admirals gaily condones murder? Or by a Department of Justice which smashes the Constitution at will? What is Americanism anyway?

For our part, after a careful inquiry into the question we have come out at the same door as that in we went: We hold that there is no worse Americanism than that which, with one hand pointing vociferously at the great principles of America, with the other violently undoes them. Such Americanism is not, alas, limited solely to some "radicals."

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Municipal Reform—A Suggestion

THERE is a striking resemblance between the political situations in New York and Chicago. In both cities the dominant machines are opposed by all the "good citizens"; in both the Mayors are distrusted, or hated, by all who believe in good and efficient government. Yet both have succeeded in maneuvering themselves into positions in which they appear to be fighting the battle of the masses. It is admitted that if the coming election were to be held next month instead of next fall Mayor Hylan would have a walk-over in New York, because he is ostensibly and ostentatiously warring to keep the five-cent fare on the transit lines, to defend the city from the traction magnates. In Chicago Mayor Thompson has so intrenched himself that the reformers are despairing. He not only has the city in his grasp, he has reached out and largely dominates the State Government. He entirely controls the Negro, the German-American, and the Irish voters—as well as other groups. He has funded into a bond issue, by vote of a referendum, the accumulated deficits due to reckless spending, inefficient business methods, and politics in administration. He is himself directed by a private citizen, as the bosses of Tammany Hall have so often played the tune to which their Mayors danced. What makes the situation more annoying to the business and hundred-per-cent elements which elsewhere are having their way with us, Mayor Thompson has a national platform with many admirable planks in it, such as the immediate withdrawal of our troops from Germany, opposition to all overseas ventures, reduction of armaments, and a return to our sound American policies of the past. The wiseacres of Chicago are of the opinion that Mr. Thompson himself believes but little of this. As to that we have no information, but it is a fact beyond question that those great sections of the people who did not want to go into the war, who do not today believe that we should have gone into it, and who realize how America's avowedly high aims were defeated in the peace, regard Mayor Thompson as their champion.

What to do to unseat him? Mr. Victor S. Yarros, speaking for the most liberal and enlightened reformers in Chicago, urges in *The Survey* a new fighting body to be formed by an alliance of all the civic bodies. It seems, at this distance, like a slim hope. In New York a new committee of two hundred and fifty men and women has been formed to prepare for next fall. It is perhaps the best group ever called together if only because it contains fewer "distinguished citizens" and fewer great captains of industry than similar bodies of the past. The wisdom of this is perfectly clear. Under the leadership of prominent business men the reform cause got a serious black eye in the last election, and not only because its candidate, Mayor Mitchel, was defeated. More than a million dollars was raised and expended to carry the election, with the result that several of the managers have been in trouble with the law. Some of the money was wasted—perhaps much. To broken-down ministers, and "organizers" of all kinds, it was fairly ladled out in a manner to have shocked the city had the dispensers been of Tammany Hall. The memory of all this is no easy burden for the new committee to carry. It is further handicapped in that it has no outstanding leader to turn to. The Committee must create its candidate, as it must, somehow or other, escape from the false position into which Mayor Hylan has placed the entire opposition. One tried civic servant who has admirable executive qualities is unfortunately debarred by reason of a family alliance with one of our foremost banking houses. In this field, too, we are all but bankrupt of leadership.

This is so difficult a situation that one must admire the courage of all who seek to grapple with it, particularly as the old, old Republican assertion that their party is again strong enough to go it alone, without fusion, is once more widely heard. To advise or to suggest in such circumstances calls for much temerity. But we have a question in our minds we cannot hold back. For decades municipal reform has suffered from being too aloof and too silk-stockinged; it has been too often imposed from above by those who profit most by our economic and social system. That was the trouble with Mayor Mitchel's administration. He would associate with the Vanderbilts, and he could not make the people believe he was *their* mayor in any degree; and this, together with his narrowly intolerant war attitude, and his driving of police automobiles into street gatherings to suppress free speech, led, despite his many splendid qualities, to his disastrous defeat—a defeat he did not merit on his administrative record. Is it impossible to conceive of a new deal? Of a reform movement with its beginnings among the masses, one solidly identified with the sound labor movement, not affiliated in any way with Wall Street and multi-millionaires, yet breathing something of the aspirations of the multitude? We are conscious that this will sound both impractical and visionary. We are quite aware that there are many precious rascals among the labor organizations besides Brindell, now of Sing Sing. We are familiar by personal experience with the fact that when it comes to lining up groups of foreign-born citizens those who come to the front are usually the gentry of the itching palm.

Yet, somehow, we believe for once a reform movement might be started among the humbler ones—the one hundred and fifty thousand votes cast for Morris Hillquit, many non-Socialist among them, show that the plain people do rally to a real and sincere man even if he is without a large campaign chest. We cannot think that the East Side or Harlem are inarticulate; we cannot see, after many years of close familiarity with reform movements, how either in Boston, or Chicago, or New York, the election of a reform mayor is to be anything but a sporadic fluke until reform can be identified with the hopes of the plain people, until the people are convinced that the anti-machine forces are not marshaled by the dominant capitalistic powers, that those forces really have unselfish humanitarian impulses, that they are honestly opposed to special privilege, and that they are led by leaders the plain people know and trust.

Some more of *The Nation's* preposterous, cranky quixotism? Well, not quite. Indeed, *The Nation* confesses lack of originality. What it urges is merely what has been going on in England where labor is going deeper into city and borough councils and controlling more with each election. Of course, the labor situation in England is vastly different from ours. There labor has gained a political experience in all departments quite beyond our conception. But there the change *is* coming from below—steadily and surely.

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No War With England

VI. The Bearing of International Finance

A LARGE part of the foreign products which the United Kingdom needs to support her population has been obtained in lieu of interest on her investments abroad. She could not, of course, continue long to receive many more goods in imports than she sent out in exports without paying for them. This payment has been partly made in the service extended by her loans of capital. In 1914 British foreign investments amounted to about twenty billion dollars. It is estimated that before the war the income on these investments was about one billion a year. Probably four-fifths of this income was reinvested abroad, and the remaining two hundred million were received and consumed at home. Foreign investment not only made a higher standard of living possible for many inhabitants of the British Isles than if they had had to live on what they themselves produced, but it added to the economic and political power of the Empire. The fact that London was the financial capital of the world, that borrowers often had to go there for credit with which to start new enterprises, had as much to do with the prestige of Great Britain in international politics as the large areas of red on the map and His Majesty's fleets and armies.

Much of this money was invested in the United States. The National Monetary Commission ten years ago estimated that British subjects had invested in American securities about three and a half billion dollars—more than any other nation, and more than half the foreign capital in this country. Germany came next, with a billion, Holland held three-quarters of a billion, and France half a billion. It was on account of the annual interest accruing on this investment that Great Britain was able to draw from us such large quantities of cotton, grain, oil, meat, and other necessary commodities, without exporting to us larger quantities of manufactured products in return. The war changed all this. Our exports to Europe increased enormously even before we entered hostilities, while our imports from Europe fell off. By the end of 1917 we had, through our excess of exports, liquidated our whole debt to Europe, and most of the American securities formerly owned by the British had passed into the hands of our citizens. Then the balance commenced to pile up on our side. We advanced to the Allies credits amounting to $9,710,000,000 in the form of government loans. For a large part of these credits Great Britain stood sponsor, reloaning in turn to her allies. After the Government ceased extending credit, banks, corporations, and private individuals took up the burden. According to the estimate of Dr. B. M. Anderson, Jr., economist of the Chase National Bank, by September, 1920, Europe owed an unfunded debt of over three and a half billion dollars to these private lenders, in addition to the government debts and also in addition to the European securities held by Americans. Nearly all this unfunded debt, consisting of short-time loans, was incurred after the armistice. Here also London acted as intermediary, accepting the direct burden, and reloaning to Europe.

In the course of this process, Britain's net loss in foreign investments has already reached at least five billion dollars, or a quarter of her total holdings before the war. At the same time the United States has increased her foreign holdings to such an extent that we are a creditor nation by at least twelve billion dollars. The total of our foreign investments therefore now approximates that of Great Britain. We do not owe her a cent, while her obligations to us are enormous—at least three times as great as our debt to her in 1914. The bulk of Britain's loans are in Europe, while the bulk of ours are in Britain. There has been much speculation as to whether Europe's war debt can ever be made good. Great Britain is the only nation concerned which has been able to balance its budget since the armistice, and the enormous expenditures of all the belligerents for military and domestic purposes have gone on almost unchecked, accompanied by insane inflation of currency. On the books, France and Italy are bankrupt. France has been depending on the German indemnity for recovery of her financial balance. But if Mr. Keynes is anywhere near right in his conclusions, she is certain to be disappointed. Her efforts to recover seem to be only driving her deeper into the morass. If she defaults, Great Britain will be the sufferer to a far greater extent than the United States. For France owes the majority of her debts to Great Britain, and Great Britain owes them to us. It has been reported that at the Peace Conference a British official suggested that war debts be canceled all around, but that the United States would not entertain the suggestion. There seems to be little more readiness on the part of our Government to accept such a proposition now than there was in 1918. If France defaults, then, Great Britain will still have to pay us, and in order to do so she will have to give up many more of her investments in non-European countries—or the interest on them, which amounts to the same thing. Her financial power, and her ability to draw on foreign raw materials, will have been further diminished.

Even if the indemnity problem is solved, however, Great Britain's financial situation will be serious. She cannot continue to support her present population without an excess of imports over exports. During the war her so-called "unfavorable" balance was, of course, abnormally large, and has been considerably reduced, yet even in 1920 it amounted to more than twice as much as in 1913. This involved a further increase in her foreign indebtedness, and, consequently, a draft on her ability to import in the future. Although she needs now a greater excess of imports than in 1913, she has only the interest on three-quarters as much foreign investment with which to pay for them. She must therefore pay by reducing the amount of her reinvestments abroad. Borrowers wanting capital must turn increasingly to the United States, and the position of Great Britain will decline yearly, while ours—in the financial sense—improves. In order to regain anything like her former strength, Great Britain will have to adopt a number of policies. Merely to pay her interest, she must in the long run increase her exports of manufactures, particularly to the United States, and substantially decrease the amount of food and raw materials we have been sending her. She will have to retain and enhance her position as a carrier of ocean commerce. And she will have to redouble her efforts to seek valuable concessions in undeveloped parts of the world, whose products she may eventually sell at a good price. She will also have to exercise strict economy in governmental expenditure.

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The present policies of the United States now tend to block every one of these pathways. We raise a protective tariff against Britain's manufactured products, while we prepare to compete with her exporters in foreign markets. We furnish government aid to our merchant marine, to enable it to take the place of British shipping. British holdings in undeveloped oil-fields, in view of the approaching exhaustion of American oil, will give her one great item of advantage, but we are carrying on a diplomatic warfare against her policy in this regard. And to cap the climax, we cause her enormous governmental expense by naval competition. The financial results of the war therefore operate to roughen every point of friction between Great Britain and the United States.

Doubtless we shall not succeed, since we have become a creditor nation, in maintaining our great "favorable" balance of trade, or in preventing the growth of an "unfavorable" balance. Efforts to close our doors to British imports cannot wholly avail, and the ambitious attempts now being made to gain more foreign markets through export corporations and large banking aggregations will hardly, under the circumstances, drive British and European manufacturers from markets which they formerly held. Any growth of our export trade will, in all likelihood, be accompanied by a still larger growth in the volume of foreign trade as a whole. Consequently, we shall hear much of foreign "dumping," of the competition of "cheap foreign labor," of unfair trade practices on the part of foreign firms, etc., etc. The economic nationalism which our Government seems resolved to practice, coming to the help of American business in this event, will be more obnoxious than ever to our trade rivals. If, on the other hand, we should somehow succeed in our attempts to maintain a large merchant marine, to approximate our former favorable trade balance, and to gain a larger share of foreign concessions, we should do so only at the cost of increasing the indebtedness of Great Britain to us. Her foreign investments, in that event, would necessarily shrink steadily, and she would eventually be driven into a corner.

The Poet and the World

WE do not banish poets from the Republic but try to make them over into the image of Congressmen. This is no conscious process and involves no acknowledged hostility to the arts. Only academic departments of English on the one hand and authors' leagues and guilds on the other have tended to put literature on an efficiency basis with a view to high and readily marketable production. The whole ideal is a businesslike one, and since it has the subtle but strong support of a universal public opinion the poet cuts his hair, trims his temper, and substitutes alien warnings for the monitions of his own soul. He does not resist very powerfully because the process commonly gets hold of him in youth. And the pathos of youth, for all its intermittent arrogances, is that it has not built up a philosophy to sustain and justify its impulses and is therefore timid and easily subdued. By the time poets have reached the years of discretion—often a name for ungenerous prudence and tragic self-betrayal—they are contented, as Emerson memorably pointed out long ago, "with a civil and conformed manner of living and to write poems from the fancy and at a safe distance from their own experience." They are cut to fit the world they came to help.

We knew a poet once whose noble rage no penury could repress and the genial current of whose soul no disapprobation could freeze. He was of the pure stock of the New England Brahmins, but he could never endure to ape the frosty gentility that engages confidence and insures preferment. On the campus of famous universities he walked with ragged hat and flying coat and all the fires of passion and poetry in his speaking eyes and eloquent gestures. His fellows recognized his genius and his learning. Yet they felt a little shy in the society of one so obviously explosive and untamed. His teachers granted his great qualities a little grudgingly or a little pityingly. We live in a practical world, they seemed always to be saying, and what is a high passion in the darkness of an unpolished boot or an immortal sonnet if it springs from an abstraction that makes for rudeness? Our poet's fate did not fail to pursue him as the years went on. A shaggy yet slim impressiveness replaced the wildness of his youth. But he never learned to be dapper in appearance or in mind. His intellectual vision and his enormous sensitiveness divided him more and more from the general opinions of the respectably cultivated on public and private matters. He has resisted to this day. But he has not gone unscathed. Something of spontaneity, something of clarity, something of rhythmic energy have been taken from him by a touch of patronage here, a stupid misjudgment there, the smugness of the efficient, the insulting gravity of the righteous in their own esteem. He has never been able to inhabit freely a native world of his spirit, and his later verses, magnificent as they are in their ruggedness and driving power, have a touch of violence and of turbidness due to the stress of an inner resistance which he should never have been forced to exert.

Facts and reflections like these gain a ready assent among intelligent people. But let the concrete example appear and they grow deprecatory at once. Is it, after all, they ask, necessary to be so wild and passionate and heedless? How are we to know that the fellow is a poet and not a poseur? That question is always the last. It is also the most odious. Let us be content not to know. Better that ten thousand poseurs should have their little fling and fun than that one Shelley, or one far less than Shelley, should be wounded or restrained or silenced. Can we not be liberated from this spirit of miserable thrift? "No doubt there are gifted people in your Latin Quarter," says a respectable and not unlettered lady, "but most of them there are merely queer and probably immoral." She forgets that such groups have always surrounded and sustained, nourished and eased, the "children of the fire" who can find comfort and inspiration neither at an engineers' club nor in a drawing-room, neither in the Elks' Hall nor in a grocery. We are not so chary of human material when an island is to be annexed or an oil-field to be exploited. Let us be content to gain a little less than the whole world for our profits and our brand of manners and opinions, and save the freshness and the vigor of the incomparable soul. Let us admit the noble madness of poets and allow for it. Our verse will be less cool and humble and diluted and more simple, sensuous, and passionate. Nor will such verse or the poets who produce it for the groups that surround these poets be without effect on our general life. We stand in bitter need of a glow, however faint, of the Dionysian, the unsubdued. The universe, as William James finely said, is wild as a hawk's wing.

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Those Black Troops on the Rhine—And the White

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

Mainz, April 24

THERE are still black troops on the Rhine. Coal-black, and thousands of them—at Speyer, at Kaiserslautern, at Ludwigshafen, and in other cities. Official denials are either cunningly deceptive statements of fact, ignorant misstatements, or deliberate lies. And on the whole, the Negro troops are behaving exceedingly well, and the population has little to complain of their presence. The circumstances of their presence have been outrageously exaggerated.

I have just been through part of the Rhenish territory occupied by the French troops. I talked with mayors, police officials, hotel-keepers, labor leaders, common workingmen. Because of the frequently arbitrary habits of the French military authorities, habits which may be accentuated in May, I shall avoid giving names in quoting these people. In many cases they talked to me only after I gave them such a promise.

There are three classes of colored troops on the Rhine today, Malagasies from Madagascar, Moroccans, and Annamites. The tall, black Senegalese who were formerly there were withdrawn last summer. It is to their withdrawal that officials refer when they say that the blacks have been withdrawn. The Annamites are a mild lot of south Chinese troops. The Moroccans, under their red fezes, are a strange assortment of desert types—tall, bronzed, bearded Arabs; handsome Semitic faces, faces clearly showing an admixture of Negro blood; others wholly African, with the dark skin, crinkly hair, and characteristic features of the race. North Africa in its time has seen many peoples come and go. The Germans call the Moroccans all "Neger," but the word is applicable only if one uses the word Negro in the absurdly broad sense current in the United States, as meaning anyone with a trace of Negro blood. The Malagasies are said to have a strain of yellow or brown blood mixed with the dominant black. I saw some in whose faces the Mongolian blood was obvious, but one could study long the faces of most without suspecting that they were aught but pure black. They are, indubitably, black troops.

There are three battalions of Malagasies at Kaiserslautern, as many at Landau, seven or eight hundred at Ludwigshafen, where they guard the Mannheim end of the Rhine Bridge and inspect the passes of drivers and bicyclists; some 300 Malagasies are at Speyer, where one of them stands guard before the old Kaiserdom. There are Annamites at Kaiserslautern, Landau, and Mainz; Moroccans at Neustadt, Zweibrücken, Worms, and Mainz. I am told that there are also black troops at Trier, and in the principal cities of the Rhinelands which I did not visit—at Diez, Bingen, Wiesbaden, Kostheim, etc.

From Munich a propaganda center spreads poisonous stories of a "black terror on the Rhine" throughout Germany and into America. Its accounts have been grossly and wickedly exaggerated. German officials told me that this propaganda was a commercial enterprise conducted for profit. There is another and very different center with offices in Mannheim and Heidelberg, aided by the Bavarian, Hessian, and Prussian state governments—the three states part of whose territory is occupied by the French. This center collects sworn police reports of misdeeds by the occupying troops, and gives them out for publicity purposes; it is in close association with the Rhenish Women's League, which has issued a summary of such affidavits concerning attacks by colored troops upon German women and boys. I believe these affidavits to be true statements of fact, as did the correspondent of the New York *World* whose article on the Black Troops on the Rhine, largely based upon the affidavits, was omitted from the *World's* series of articles on the Rhinelands. People do not readily invent such unpleasant stories about themselves, and sign their names and addresses to them under oath; and if they did, they would elaborate more vivid tales than these ungarnished reports. There are several score such cases of assault or attempted assault recorded in the police files. I saw the originals of some of these reports; I was offered, but declined, the opportunity of talking with some of the victims. But, after examination of these reports, and after prolonged and confidential discussion with the mayors and police inspectors of several Rhineland cities, I am convinced that there is no such thing as a "Black Horror" on the Rhine. In the early days of the Occupation, when war passions were hotter and discipline laxer, and when the Senegalese, a proud and powerful race, were present, conditions were, doubtless, worse than they are today. The occupation, by Senegalese troops in the spring of 1920, of the Goethehaus in Frankfurt—Goethe's former home, now a museum—was, undoubtedly, intended as a deliberate and gross insult to German culture, and was, of course, in fact a shame to French civilization. The Senegalese were withdrawn in June and July, 1920. Today, while the police reports showed at least five attempted assaults by Moroccan troops upon white women and boys or young men in the six weeks before my visit, I could learn of only one such case recorded against the black Malagasies. Such figures are not far above the normal proportion for any population of nearly 100,000 young males living in enforced celibacy. It is true that some women when attacked refrain, for obvious reasons of personal shame and modesty, from reporting the fact to the police; it is also true that because of the propaganda about the black troops attempted assaults are probably more fully reported than would be the case under ordinary circumstances. I do not believe that the presence of black troops adds materially to the unpleasantness involved in any military occupation.

The enforced erection of brothels for the use of the troops of occupation has probably reduced the number of cases of assault. In most of the Rhine cities the German municipal authorities have been compelled to establish brothels. This was particularly resented in the Bavarian Palatinate where public houses had hitherto been rigorously prohibited. German families had to be evacuated on short notice to make room for the brothels, which stand beside houses where other German families still have to live. I saw little children playing on the very steps of such bawdy-houses. This is revolting, but after all such sights are possible even in American cities, and they are an almost universal circumstance of military occupation, not peculiar to the black troops. The towns near the American zone occupied by the French have brothels which are said to be largely patron-

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ized by Americans, just as in Brest, to avoid worse difficulties, the French are reported to have established separate brothels for the American black and white troops. In Germany, the same brothels are patronized by French black and white troops without quarrel; they are also open to German civilians who, however, pay twice the military fee. The German police have to establish fixed price schedules, regulate hours of labor for the women, and provide for regular medical inspection. I saw such schedules. Despite their care and the existence of brothels, however, there has been a large increase in the reported cases of venereal disease—in Ludwigshafen, for instance, more than 100 per cent—for which the Germans hold the occupying troops responsible, the blacks no more than the whites. The number of such cases among young girls of 14, 15, and 16 is exceptionally high. The pay of the occupation troops, small as it is, in French or American money, is disproportionately large when converted into marks, and, in the present period of unemployment the temptation for a German girl is very great. It is sufficient to walk through the Stadtgarten at Ludwigshafen or along the river at Mainz on a summery evening and to see how many benches are occupied by young German girls and French soldiers of all colors to realize how easily such relationships may begin. Economic pressure, the need and lure of money, the universal mystery and romance of man and girl, all play their roles in the drama on the Rhine; if there is racial intermixture it is due almost wholly to these factors, and, in a negligible degree, to acts of violence.

Stories are current of marriages between black soldiers and German girls. Such have probably occurred, but I could trace no cases. One German girl in the Palatinate wanted to marry a Malagasy, the father of her baby, and was ready to go to Madagascar to live, but her parents refused to permit her.

That the Germans resent the presence of colored troops is of course true. In part it is due to the extraordinary philosophical pride in race and race-Kultur current among nationalist Germans; in large part, however, it is a natural resentment at having as overlords men who are in fact much closer to primitive tribalism. When a Ludwigshafener is stopped at the Mannheim Bridge by a fully armed black African and made to show his papers; when a proud citizen of an old imperial free city is ordered by a gesture of a sturdy son of Madagascar to pass in front of, not behind, him, which means walking out into the gutter, he feels bitterly about it. He may work himself up into a philosophical rage. One mayor said to me: "The French say we are boches, uncivilized, barbarians. Good. They are the bearers of culture. Good. Ach, but so far as we can see the only culture they bring us is venereal disease and the black troops."

The police inspector of the same city put matters in a way which I believe was more profoundly true. "The colored troops make no trouble for us," he said. "They do not know why they are here; they merely obey orders. They are not arrogant; they have no pride in militarism; they have no special dislike or scorn of us as Germans, and they treat us exactly as they would treat French, or English, or American civilians. When there is military arrogance to complain of it is rather the white troops, who are conscious of themselves as French and of us as Germans, who consciously consider us an inferior people, and sometimes make it evident in their bearing."

Probably the most unpleasant fashion in which this military arrogance makes itself felt is in the requisition of dwellings for French officers. The housing shortage is severe on the Rhine, as everywhere where building has been in abeyance during all the war years, and some of the mayors are at their wits' ends when they receive orders from the French military authorities to provide so and so many dwellings of so and so many rooms, often upon less than a week's notice. One city of 21,000 population, with 900 "wohnungsuchende" families registered in its municipal housing office, has had to provide accommodations for 98 officers and their families. One old man of 86 years had to be evacuated from his lifelong home on less than a week's notice because an officer wanted his house. Ludwigshafen has had to supply 122 family dwellings, besides rooms, one or two together, for 180 bachelor officers, and has turned over as well several factories and two schoolhouses for the troops. In this city, which never had a military barracks before the war to end war, the Germans are now building, upon orders, fourteen or fifteen big permanent brick and stone barracks, equipped to house some two thousand men. Ludwigshafen, also upon requisition, is building forty handsome new sandstone apartments and equipping them with furniture, dishes, carpets, silver, and bedding for officers. The French expect the Occupation to last at least fifteen years, and are compelling the Germans to build accordingly. Mainz, a crowded city of 110,000 inhabitants, where the French General Staff has its headquarters, has had to supply 269 apartments with a total of 1,337 rooms, as well as 2,382 single furnished rooms, for officers, besides offices, barracks, and three schoolhouses. Mainz has also been ordered to build 275 apartments. In one city which has several families living six in a room, a bachelor French officer has requisitioned a seven-room apartment for himself. In another city the trade-union Vereinshaus has been requisitioned and is used as a barracks for black troops. These are the acts of white officers; they give better ground for resentment, and cause deeper hatred on the Rhine, than does the over-propaganded presence of black troops.

A military occupation is never pretty. There is something degrading in the possession of such unnatural power as military occupation puts into the hands of officers. When to that unnatural power is added the resentment and hate engendered in France by four years of cruel war upon her territory it is easy to understand excesses which it is impossible to excuse. But let this be clearly understood: it is impossible to study at first hand, without prejudice, the Negro occupation, and believe that the presence of black troops constitute a constant terror and a horror to the Germans. The fact of military occupation by troops of any color would be a constant irritation. But the crime in the case of the black troops is a crime rather against the black troops themselves than against the Germans. They are virtually slaves, conscripted by sheer force, and forced like slaves to military service in a cause in which they have no interest and which they do not understand, in a climate to which they are not accustomed or adapted. It is a curious thing to look at that strange medley of yellow, black, and brown troops, and to wonder what they think of their service on the Rhine. The indictment against the French use of colored troops is not for what is being done to the Germans but for what is being done to the colored people themselves. The whole world may some day reap the harvest which French militarism is sowing in its colored colonies.

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Would the Use of Gold Bring Down the Cost of Living?

By JOHN KANE MILLS

AT the Republican National Convention at Chicago Professor Irving Fisher, accompanied by former Representative Fowler, both of them economists and authorities on finance, appeared before the platform committee and urged a plank calling for the repeal of the Federal Reserve Act. At San Francisco other economists urged upon the Democratic National Committee a plank defending the act. It makes no difference that neither recommendation was acted upon, the essential fact being that our fundamental banking law is under fire, and it is seldom that where there is intelligent criticism there is not also a solid ground for complaint.

What are the grounds for complaint? What are the underground mutterings which may at any time burst forth in some concerted movement which might bring down the whole financial structure? Twenty years ago, the conservative father of a family invested a thousand dollars in the gilt-edged bond of one of the country's biggest railroads. He protected himself with all the foresight which was at his command. He was content with a low interest return and made sure that the property represented by the bond was worth double or treble the amount of the mortgage. He saw to it that his money was to be repaid in gold coin of the standard weight and fineness. It was to be his nest egg. It represented the value of a thousand bushels of wheat, of ten thousand pounds of sugar.

The inflation year of 1920 arrived and the railroad redeemed its bond. It paid him one thousand dollars, but the purchasing power of his money had been reduced. His capital now represented but three hundred and fifty bushels of wheat or five thousand pounds of sugar. Somehow and in some way, half his money had been lost despite all his precautions. How? He had known all along that he was taking a certain chance. Even though the stock of money remained constant, yet the amount of commodities in the world might and did vary from time to time within narrow limits. He expected a 5 or a 10 or a 15 per cent variation. That was the joker in the deck of cards. But when he cashed in at the end of twenty years, he was faced with an adverse variation of 50 and 60 per cent. Was there a second joker in the deck or had the game been changed without his consent to stud poker with deuces wild?

He studied the situation. There was about the same amount of commodities in the world and there was about the same amount of gold. If anything, the stock of commodities had increased faster than had the stock of gold, which should have made his gold more valuable and commodities cheaper. But, instead, the reverse had come about. Something had happened to his gold and it took very little investigation to find that it had been watered and diluted with Federal Reserve notes. Week after week, instead of a government note issue backed by 100 per cent gold, he read that the ratio of gold to notes was 42, 48, 54 per cent.

He went to his banker and discussed the matter. He argued that if somebody, the Federal Reserve Board he took it to be, had the power and authority to issue two paper dollars for one gold dollar, he should be given the same privilege. It was explained to him that the excess of paper dollars over gold was represented by commodities already in existence but which were in transit to the ultimate consumer. "So my gold dollar is being used to keep a lot of middlemen in business who have not adequate capital with which to finance their enterprises." The banker objected to his way of putting it. He emphasized that merchants were entitled to banking accommodation and that the Federal Reserve Act simply made it easier for them to get money with which to finance the production, movement, and sale of commodities.

But the former bondholder would not be put off the track. He objected to merchants and middlemen. He considered that this class was a leech on society, that they contributed nothing to production, and that the services that they did render were recompensed out of all proportion. He did not want his money to be used to help them in business to his own detriment as a consumer. He conceived the idea that were he to exchange his Federal Reserve notes for gold, he would, by withdrawing the gold from the bank, automatically curtail the issue of Federal Reserve notes by double that amount and thereby and by that much enhance the value of the remaining money and thus make the commodities less valuable and through the stress of money shortage force the goods on the market so much sooner.

He decided to exchange his reserve notes for gold and asked the banker to do it for him. The banker protested. It wasn't done nowadays. Nobody withdrew gold from the banks. Gold was so hard to carry and so inconvenient. Besides they would have to open the vault to get it out. "Do I get gold for these funny pieces of paper or do I not?" demanded the visitor, commencing to lose his temper. "Of course you can get it," replied the banker. "But if you do demand it, I will have to ask you to take away your account. It is not patriotic to withdraw gold from the banks!"

This incident is told at length to bring out two points, (1) that there is a propaganda on foot among bankers to keep gold out of circulation, and (2) that were gold in general use, Federal Reserve notes would either have to be retired or the reserves would fall below the legal limit. Let us, therefore, consider what effect, if any, the greater use of gold in daily transactions would have on the cost of living. Would prices continue to recede? Would money be lost? Who would get hurt?

In this connection the opening words of Caesar come to mind. "Omnis Gallia divisa est in partes tres." So is America! There seems to be a trinity in all conditions. Society is divided into three parts: the rich, the middle classes, and the poor. So is business in that it consists of the capitalist, the producer, and the ultimate consumer. And each of the above can be further subdivided into units of three. Capital seeks investment in stocks, bonds, and real estate. Production consists of raw materials, labor, and transportation. The ultimate consumer either has an income from investment, works for a salary, or labors for a weekly wage. Labor is made up of unionists, non-

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unionists, and the unemployed. Transportation is the problem of loading, moving, and unloading.

And all these classes, divisions, and sub-divisions seem to be equally balanced. Where numbers are lacking, essentiality makes up. If all money were invested in bonds, real estate development and manufacturing enterprises would suffer. The labor and transportation items in production are worthless without the raw materials. The income of a consumer would be non-existent were it not for the salaried workers and wage earners. In recommending, therefore, any fundamental change in existing conditions, in order that such a change be beneficial to society as a whole, at least two of any three factors in any trinity must benefit, but not to the extent of so injuring the third factor as to bring the whole house of cards to the ground.

It is not the purpose of this article to recommend any definite line of action. Its object is to point out possibilities that may have escaped the attention of the man in the street. We will therefore begin with the money that is carried around in everyone's pockets. It seems ridiculous, but it is doubtful whether one man out of ten knows the difference between the various kinds of money that he uses in his daily transactions. It is therefore worth while to outline briefly the worth and limitations of the different tokens of currency.

Foremost in understandable value come the gold and silver certificates. These are equivalent tokens for the two metals and are only issued at parity. Their script informs the holder that there have been deposited in the Treasury of the United States so many gold or silver dollars. They were issued merely for convenience and there is no possible combination of events which could keep them from being worth one hundred cents on the dollar in metal. Of the gold certificates, the once familiar yellow-backs, few are now seen. They have been turned into the Treasury and the gold taken out and this gold then used as a base on which to issue Federal Reserve notes.

Next in importance come the United States notes which are just what they say they are—the notes of the United States Government. They represent the civil war inflation and have never been redeemed. Their issue, however, is limited to some 300 million dollars, which is a mere bagatelle compared to the three billions of Federal Reserve notes now outstanding. They represent the running accommodation that the country gives to the Government.

Another variety of paper money, well known to old timers and still often seen in circulation, is the national bank note. These are the direct obligations of the issuing bank, secured by gold and by the old-time United States bonds. There are also Treasury notes of 1890—of small importance.

We now come to the huge issues of paper money which have taken the place of the old-time gold and silver certificates. They are of two kinds, the Federal Reserve bank note and the Federal Reserve note. The bank note is issued by any one of the Federal Reserve banks. It is secured by United States certificates of indebtedness or United States one-year gold notes. They are not good for payment of interest to the Government nor for duties on imports. The note, however, and it is the Federal Reserve note that is most under criticism, is based on an entirely different principle. X produces some goods and sells them to Y. X wishes to be paid so he induces Y to sign an acceptance which he takes to his banker Z. Z instead of advancing the bank's funds against these goods, takes the acceptance to the Federal Reserve bank where he cashes it, receiving in exchange Federal Reserve notes. When the acceptance becomes due, Y pays the acceptance, which money is in turn passed on to Z and thus to the Federal Reserve bank, which then releases the acceptance and destroys the Federal Reserve notes which it had issued against it. The commercial transaction between X and Y has been financed by the public's money and not by the bank's money. Z the banker has lent the money to X at a high rate of interest, or where this exceeds the legal rate, at the legal rate plus a commission and has borrowed it from the Federal Reserve Bank, i.e., the public, at a low rate. The banker has made money, X the producer has been promptly paid for his production, and Y the middleman has had the business financed for sixty days during which time he can seek his market and sell at a favorable price. The only people who suffer are the ultimate consumers who have provided the money and now have to pay for their generosity through increased prices.

To understand how this legislation came to be passed, the intention of Congress at the time of the passage of the Federal Reserve Act in 1913 must be studied. The act was designed not to make banking accommodation more plentiful but to be a sheet anchor to windward in time of panic. When business confidence in a country is shaken, the natural instinct is to hoard all metallic currency. This has been the cause of all panics in the past, especially those of 1893 and 1907. The result of this hoarding is that currency disappears from circulation to such an extent that bank checks and temporary certificates issued by the local clearing house associations have had to be resorted to. To provide a currency at these times and to obviate the necessity of such makeshifts, it was proposed and enacted that the Federal Reserve Bank be authorized to issue notes based on actual commodity transactions. It was expected that in addition to being secured by commodities these notes would also have a backing of 100 per cent of gold, but as an added measure of flexibility in times of stress the bank was authorized to allow its gold reserve against these notes to sink if necessary as low as 40 per cent and in times of extreme emergency the Governors of the Federal Reserve System were allowed to dispense with the gold reserve altogether.

The result is known. Although we have had no panic, the number of Federal Reserve notes in circulation has steadily increased until their gold cover is dangerously near the authorized legal limit. Instead of being reserved for an emergency currency only to be used for a short period in time of stress, the resources and facilities of the Federal Reserve Banks have been used in ordinary commercial transactions with the result that credit has been made easy to obtain and has increased vastly in volume. Gold amounts to less than two billions, Federal Reserve notes exceed three billions of dollars. Where the commodities of the United States were and are worth two billions gold, they are now equivalent to three billions paper. It takes three of these paper dollars to buy two dollars' worth of goods.

Is there a remedy and what would be the result of putting it into effect? How would it react on the trinities of business? It seems obvious that if the gold was taken out of the banks, the reserve ratio of gold to notes would fall, resulting either in a cancelation of millions of notes or in reserves falling below the legal limit. It is doubtful if the latter possibility would be allowed to occur. Public opinion would rebel and all confidence in our currency might be shattered.

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In the face of resistance from bankers and individual threats of forcing the withdrawal of accounts, how is the gold to be gotten out of the banks? The actual experience of a noted New York economist will be cited. This gentleman took a twenty dollar Federal Reserve bank note issued by the New York Federal Reserve Bank, payable, as they all are, to bearer on demand. He went to the New York Federal Reserve Bank and asked for the cashier. The guard whom he accosted did not know whether or not the bank had a cashier, but inquiry revealed the fact that one existed on the fifth floor. He found the gentleman with difficulty and presented the bank note and asked for cash. The cashier was surprised. He stated that it was a most extraordinary proceeding. Apparently no one had ever done such a thing before. He asked the economist to identify himself, which request was refused, the economist stating that he was the "bearer" mentioned on the face of the note. The cashier wished to consult an officer of the bank, but the visitor objected, saying forcibly that his adversary was the cashier of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and that he wished to be paid the face value of the note, he being the bearer mentioned in the note.

It was evident that no gold was available at the great Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Finally, however, the economist was given a gold certificate and thus compromising he departed, and to carry his experiment to the end walked over to the Sub-Treasury[1] in order to cash his gold certificate, secretly expecting that he would encounter further difficulty before he actually got the metal. In this he was disappointed. He entered the government building and found a counter behind which was a sleepy clerk reading a paper. He presented his gold certificate and asked for gold. The clerk looked at the yellow-back carelessly, put it with other bills in his cage, and reaching down behind the counter produced a twenty dollar gold piece which he tossed over to his visitor as if it were the veriest matter of course.

At last there was gold. Provided a holder was willing to take the trouble, he could get gold for his notes; and that he later gave the twenty dollars away, mistaking it in his pocket for a fifty cent piece, has no bearing on the matter save to emphasize that notes which are instantly redeemable in gold are a far safer and more convenient form of money than metallic currency. As a result of this adventure and the word-to-mouth advertising that it received, scores of people went down to the Federal Reserve Bank and exchanged notes for gold until the bank officials, realizing that a rumor might get started that gold was unobtainable, installed a regular cashier's cage and constantly keep a pile of gold on hand.

No one need be afraid of the threat of the banker mentioned in the first part of this article. If a bank refuses a customer gold or if a banker even hints that in demanding gold a customer's account is no longer desired, all that is necessary is to state that you will publish the fact in a paid advertisement in the local paper, a threat which will bring any banker to his senses. If you want it, you are entitled to gold and you can get it by asking for it.

The effect of a general demand for gold and a refusal to accept the Federal Reserve 48-cent printing press notes must now be considered. Who would suffer? Or would anyone suffer? Would it affect the producer, the middleman, or the consumer? What would happen to the capitalist, the salaried man, and the daily wage earner? The first class that would be seriously hit would be those who are now depending on bank accommodation with which to carry on their business. These can be labeled under the heading of middlemen. The getting of gold out of the banks and into general circulation would automatically check the issuance of Reserve notes. The Reserve banks would be forced to further curtail credits, with the result that many commodities now resisting deflation would be forced to accept a cash market with a resulting break of prices. As prices dropped so would eventually the cost of production as new goods would be forced to meet the competition of existing stocks. This will reduce wages, but wage earners could afford to receive less as the cost of living would still further come down due to an appreciation of the value of the currency. Reduced wages would buy more than large wages are buying now. Unemployment might continue while the lower level of prices was being reached, but in the end things would be better in that values would be based on a 100 per cent metallic currency instead of on 50 per cent inflated paper tokens.

To the salaried man, it would seem as if the millennium were at hand. Salaries have not generally been raised in anywhere near the proportions that have either wages or the cost of living. It is extremely doubtful if they would be reduced. As long as a corporation is operating, office work must continue and the volume of business has little to do with the size of the office force. Some inconvenience would doubtless be caused to the capitalist and to the investor in under-capitalized ventures, but for this class the man in the street has little sympathy.

From the above, it will be seen that the public has the matter in its own hands. If deflation of the currency is desired, all that is needed is to demand gold and refuse Federal Reserve notes. Labor could force a reduction in prices overnight by demanding gold instead of notes in the weekly pay envelope. This may be the only honest public-spirited thing to do even though, in the ensuing crash of profiteering prices, a number of individuals may get hurt, for we maintain not only that we are on a gold basis but that there exists in America and in America only a free market for gold. If this is the case, let the public see it, feel it, and use it, but do not let the profiteers lock it up and issue double the quantity of paper tokens for it for their own ends and against the interests of the ultimate consumer.

[1] The Sub-Treasury has since been merged with the Federal Reserve Bank.

Contributors to This Issue

Lewis S. Gannett, one of *The Nation's* editors, is making a first-hand study of various phases of European political and economic life.

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Sir Horace Plunkett is one of the best known of living Irishmen. He was for many years a member of Parliament from Dublin County; he was the chairman of the Irish Convention 1917-18, and is the author of various treatises on Irish affairs.

Dorothy Meirowsky is an American journalist who recently spent two months in Silesia as the guest of the Polish and German Plebiscite Commission.

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Ireland Today—Sir Horace Plunkett's Plan

By HORACE PLUNKETT

I HAVE been invited to explain to American readers the latest means adopted by moderate Irishmen—Irishmen, that is, to whom the policy of Mr. Lloyd George is abhorrent and the doctrine of Mr. De Valera seems in one matter impracticable—the latest means adopted by them to induce and enable the Government to put an end to an Irish situation which is cruelly disastrous to Ireland, utterly discreditable to Britain, and productive of lasting mutual hatred between the two peoples.

Over six hundred men, women, and children have been killed since the beginning of the year in conflicts between the Irish Republicans and the forces of the Crown. Nearly as many more have been wounded. The wanton destruction of property and the complete dislocation of the country's commerce and industry continue. This is a state of things which at any previous period would have led to the downfall of the Government at Westminster. For whatever reason, the party now in power is allowed to persist in a policy which no Irishman believes can possibly succeed—a policy which, in six counties of Ireland, will set up a government hateful to one-third of their population, while in the other twenty-six counties it will be regarded as adding the injury of partition to the insult of alien government, and will remove the Anglo-Irish conflict further than ever from a settlement.

The supreme tragedy of this Irish situation lies in the fact that a certain and proclaimed remedy has lain ready to the hands of the Government all through these dark months. Two years ago the Irish Dominion League was founded; it is not yet too late to bring peace and friendship between the two countries by the solution it advocates. With the agreement and assistance of Irishmen representing many shades of political opinion I have brought forward in their name a new plan for enabling the Lloyd George administration, once and for all, if their avowed desire for a peaceful settlement is sincere, to show that it is so by their actions or, by their refusal, to close our ears entirely to their unsupported protestations of good-will.

The plan is embodied in a Memorial to the Prime Minister which advocates a new approach to an Irish settlement as an alternative to the continuance of this heartrending conflict until a military decision is reached in a ruined country. It proposes that the Ulster Unionists should be asked (without abandoning the powers and privileges assured to them under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920) to join with their fellow-countrymen in an All-Ireland Conference for the sake of keeping Ireland contentedly in the British commonwealth, and that those entitled to speak for the majority of the Irish people should be asked to abandon secession for the sake of Irish unity. The main assumptions on which the scheme is based are:

1. That the Government's policy has not only, as the Prime Minister now admits, failed tragically, but that there is no prospect whatsoever of any turn of its disastrous tide. The spirit of resistance and the actual number of active participants in the armed conflict are increasing, notwithstanding the terrible suffering inflicted upon the Irish Republican Army and the communities in sympathy.

2. The majority of Irish people are determined to adhere to the Republican demand and to support those fighting for it as long as the Government adheres to its attempt to impose upon Ireland by force a constitution which the majority of its people will not accept.

3. If such a settlement as Mr. Asquith and the Liberals have already approved were firmly offered and accompanied by a truce while it was being submitted to a representative assembly of the Irish people—with amnesty should a settlement be reached—an immense majority in Southern Ireland would accept the offer.

4. Northern Ireland would ultimately, if not at once, come into the settlement, because fiscal autonomy in Southern Ireland (which would be an essential of a settlement) would involve a tariff wall round the six counties, to the utter destruction of their economic life.

5. No issue to the conflict other than a military decision is possible unless the Government takes the initiative and brings about negotiations between Southern and Northern Ireland upon a possibly acceptable basis of settlement.

These assumptions are sound and the scheme is properly based upon them. Writing for Englishmen I might give good reasons for believing that the proposed change in the British Government's attitude would enormously improve its moral position in Britain as well as Britain's prestige abroad. Writing for Americans I will restrict myself to the change the adoption of the scheme would make in the situation here in Ireland.

The Government is committed to holding the elections under the act over the whole of Ireland. In the six counties it will lead to the setting up of a parliament in which only one party will be represented. The institution will be a mere replica of the Ulster Provisional Government which was ready to be set up in 1914. I believe those in Sir Edward Carson's confidence, who subsequently had an Irish policy formulated in their exclusive interest, were determined to use their control over the Parliament and the Government with exemplary moderation, if not generosity, toward the minority in their area, and so justify themselves before the world. Whatever their intentions they are now completely disillusioned upon the working out of the policy. The Northern Government will have the fierce hostility of an unrepresented minority, who will have the sympathy and not a little cooperation of practically the whole of Southern Ireland. For business reasons the Ulstermen never liked partition, many of them to my certain knowledge thinking it impracticable but relying upon the bargaining value of their own Parliament for setting up an All-Ireland Government favorable to themselves. In the backs of the minds of these people—in the fronts of their minds there is still the hatred stirred up in the days of the Covenant—they will be glad of another opportunity to negotiate; a conference established in the manner outlined in our Memorial will give it to them. They would not, however, touch the scheme unless requested to do so by their English supporters in the Government.

In the South of Ireland the forthcoming elections will obviously be a wanton farce, making England ridiculous before the world, if held as now ordered. The proceeding will not merely be farcical, it will be mischievous in a way

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which few, even here in Ireland, appreciate. Sinn Fein will return probably over 90 per cent of the members, whose only qualification will be that they can be trusted to demand a republic and never to darken the door of the Parliament to which they are elected. Yet these men will stand before the world as the authorized spokesmen for the democracy of Ireland for the next few years. Even Sinn Fein will not put forward the men in whose political capacity they believe, for the simple reason that having M.P. after their names marks them for Black and Tan attention. If, on the other hand, the members elected are to sit in a constituent conference or assembly, not only will the best Sinn Feiners stand but men of moderate views would be welcomed by Sinn Fein as a necessary minority in a really representative Irish gathering.

The greatest difficulty was to save the Government's face, and on this point our scheme meets, as no previous scheme has met, the actual political necessities of Mr. Lloyd George's Government. These are the two points we are pressing him to consider for his own salvation:

(a) If the Southern Elections are held *only* for a Parliament which won't meet, a body of extremists will be installed for the next two or three years as the authorized spokesmen of the Irish democracy in any negotiations between Britain and Ireland or between the Southern and Northern Irelands created by the act of 1920. If the elections are also for a constituent assembly I am convinced a good sprinkling of first-rate men representing all views would be returned. In the former case no settlement would be possible till after another election, or a military decision; in the latter case a settlement would at worst only be postponed. (b) The scheme saves the Government's face with its rank and file who will give it credit for any settlement which comes out of the elections under the act.

But it is not enough to point the way through Irish difficulties as often by their manner and means as by their policy and intentions have British Governments outraged the feelings of my fellow-countrymen. There are difficulties in Ireland which are beyond the horizon of Westminster. We have, therefore, after long and careful consideration, devised a procedure calculated to minimize these difficulties, and we set out in order the steps required to give a fair trial to the plan we propose.

1. The Prime Minister to state in Parliament that the Government accepts in principle the status of a self-governing dominion for Ireland on the terms above indicated, provided that those authorized to speak for the majority of the Irish people and for the Ulster Unionists respectively agree to meet in an assembly representative of the whole of Ireland and discuss a settlement upon that basis.

2. If both Irish parties are ready to meet for such a discussion—and this can easily be ascertained—the Government to facilitate the meeting of the present elected representatives from Southern Ireland so that they can appoint delegates to confer with the Government upon a cessation of hostilities and such other preliminary arrangements as may be necessary to make it possible for the subsequent negotiations to proceed.

3. The forthcoming elections to take place on the understanding that the members returned for the whole of Ireland will immediately thereafter meet as a constituent assembly, without necessarily taking their seats in either Parliament.

4. Parliament meanwhile to pass a bill authorizing the constituent assembly to frame a constitution for Ireland in accordance with the powers and limitations of full dominion status. At the first meeting of this assembly negotiations to be opened with the Government in regard to defense and foreign relations.

5. The members representing the six counties of Northern Ireland may, at any time during the deliberations of the constituent assembly, declare by a majority that they decide to set up a Parliament and Government for their area as provided in the act of 1920, and in the event of such decision the members from Southern Ireland may either adopt or reject the dominion status for their 26 counties.

6. If a Parliament of Northern Ireland is thus established, it shall have power at any time to unite with the Southern Ireland Dominion on any terms which may be mutually agreed.

Such is the plan thought out by a body of Irishmen who passionately long for the freedom of their country in order that its people may be able not only to develop their own human and material resources, which they alone understand, but also to take their place in the family of nations to which they belong. Given this opportunity they will be, for the first time in 700 years, not perhaps friends of the British Government for a while, but of the British people.

Silesia—The New Plague Spot

By DOROTHY MEIROWSKY

IN the course of an expedition across Upper Silesia before the plebiscite, in an attempt to reconcile the wildly conflicting reports that drifted through to America, I landed in Oppeln. With Kattowitz it was then, as now, the focal center of all manner of trouble; natural enough, when one stops to remember it as the seat of nearly all the commissions, plebiscite committees, and propaganda centers, both Polish and German. And in Oppeln I interviewed Count von Moltke, nephew of the late field marshal.

He was then one of the leaders of the Verband Heimattreuer Oberschlesier—literally, the Society of Upper Silesians Loyal to the Homeland—the organization conducting the most active and far-reaching propaganda for Germany. I wanted his opinion on the results of the forthcoming plebiscite. His experience and observations ought, I judged, be one of the straws that would show how the wind might be expected to blow. He is the languid, very blond, preternaturally tall and thin type that young English officers in crack regiments are—on the stage. And all his languor was in his reply. "It is very unimportant. What does it matter if the plebiscite is 100 per cent for Germany? They won't allow Germany to keep Upper Silesia—if they can manage." "They?" I asked. "Who? And how can they prevent it?" "Oh, Poland, France; France especially. Nothing can be easier! The Germans are entirely disarmed now; the peace terms saw to that. If the plebiscite does not go to suit them, a few thousand Poles smuggled across the border would become patriotic Upper Silesians, burning to be united with Mother Poland. Korfanty would be delighted to manage that, I think." The languor was undisturbed and no more wisdom seemed to be imminent. I bowed myself out and discounted the major part of the prophecy.

That afternoon, Korfanty granted an interview to a number of journalists of both sexes and every possible nation-

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ality, a Japanese and a correspondent from Uruguay among them. He had just come to Oppeln from Kattowitz, I think, and we were told we might have a few minutes of his time. We found him Germanic rather than Polish in outline and coloring, but restless, devouringly hungry, avid, a man who would not let himself come to peace. It was said everywhere that he was playing for a great stake—Upper Silesia as an independent province, only nominally tributary to Poland, and himself as the commanding general, the governor, or whatever the exigencies of the moment might dictate that he call himself. We exchanged desultory compliments and a few formal commonplaces. They seemed curiously out of place before his lean restlessness—like telling a sullen panther it was a nice morning. Then the correspondent from Uruguay (he was leaving for Dresden next morning, with a securely visaed passport in his breast pocket, so he could afford to be reckless) brought up the charges, repeatedly made by the Germans, that at Korfanty's instigation and with his aid bands of armed thugs swept periodically across the Polish border, raided and burned German towns, murdered inhabitants suspected of being too zealously German, and escaped back to Poland, with no effort to detain them. He mentioned specifically the village of Anhalt, which most of us had seen within the week. A conflagration had behaved there in so erratic a manner that only the houses of German inhabitants had burned down. Those belonging to Poles had been left startlingly intact. The sullen panther became a raging one. "I see, ladies and gentlemen, you have been talking to the German propagandists here. I have not the time nor the inclination to answer their lies. They are all lies, I assure you."

Some one suggested that we interview General Le Rond, commanding the French troops policing Upper Silesia and newly returned from an official visit to Paris, presumably to receive instructions with reference to the forthcoming plebiscite. He was almost disappointingly easy to "see." The Korfanty interview had irritated us and we could have welcomed a row with a sentry or an attaché or something of that sort to brighten us up a bit. Monsieur le Général was magnificently urbane and—magnificently noncommittal. Never before had I so appreciated the advantages of being born a Frenchman. No one could have said less, and said it so pleasingly. Again the correspondent from Uruguay came forward and attempted to crack the surface of that glossy urbanity. His French was equal to the occasion. "We are informed, M. le Général, that your troops are behaving with entire lack of neutrality, that the Polish inhabitants are permitted to retain their arms, and have even been furnished with them by French officers, while the Germans have, of course, been entirely disarmed."

Not a breath on the glossy surface of that politeness. "Anything else, monsieur?"

"We are told, M. le Général, that the Polish border is insufficiently guarded, so that Polish bands sweep into Upper Silesia, burn towns, murder Germans, and return. And when the German authorities complain, the French make no effort to capture or even to follow the outlaws."

A moment's reflection. Then, with utmost courtesy: "I can only answer that the ladies and gentlemen have been deplorably misled. It is of a sadness! But they are free to go everywhere. If they will observe for themselves . . ."

A resolute soul in the party pointed out that we were not free to go everywhere, that our passports were both limited in time and in area, and that inquisitive souls had been gently but implacably put on the trains that went out of whatever part of Upper Silesia they had happened to betray their inquisitiveness.

Again that most deferential air. "I regret most profoundly. If the estimable correspondents will take up the matter with the Passport Bureau . . ."

The Edinburgh man came to the attack, with execrable French but divine courage: "The Germans say they are imprisoned and severely punished for the slightest offense, and everything is permitted the Poles; that they are not even permitted to strike back when attacked by a Pole, whereas your soldiers even help the Poles in their attacks."

At last the crack in that incredibly smooth surface. The General frowned, pushed out an impatient arm—a glass paperweight pushed over the edge of the desk crashed to pieces on the stone floor. "Strike one," whispered a youthful and irreverent American free lance in my ear.

"Ladies and gentlemen," said the General, a shade less deferentially, a good many shades more firmly, "when I go abroad, the Poles salute me respectfully. They make way for my automobile. They salute my officers. The Germans look the other way, they pretend they do not see the French officers that they may not salute them. Their vehicles obstruct my automobile. They are sullen; they do not answer when they are questioned. They are insubordinate. This cannot be tolerated. It will not be tolerated." He rose and bowed; the interview was ended.

The uprising in Upper Silesia that bids fair to give Europe a brand new war and even to drive a wedge between the Allies is the direct result of their stupid and muddling policy. I am entirely willing to grant that the natural sympathies of the French troops of occupation were with the Poles. But if those sympathies were to outweigh the determination to hold the plebiscite honestly and to abide by its result—why hold it at all. Instead, France, given a free hand in Upper Silesia by England—perhaps through carelessness, perhaps in exchange for concessions elsewhere—gave Poland an equally free hand, before, during, and after the plebiscite. And now for years, possibly generations, is created a new plague spot, a new political volcano! For the game has been dirty as well as stupid.

Poland made almost incredible efforts to play on the ignorance and the superstition of the Poles in Upper Silesia. I have a newspaper in my possession, written in Polish and published in Kattowitz. Its leading article is by a Polish priest, setting forth with much detail that the Holy Virgin was really born in Czenstochowa (a Polish town containing a holy shrine), that she speaks and understands only Polish, that everyone must pray to her in Polish, and vote for Poland in the plebiscite.

All this may or may not come under the head of legitimate propaganda. But every unprejudiced observer who has been in Upper Silesia since last summer will testify to the villages burned by Polish marauders; to men and women killed; in other cases, taken across the border, tortured, and sent back as a warning to others who might be too German. And these things could not have happened without French connivance.

To help toward the restoration of a lasting peace in Europe withdrawal of French troops from Upper Silesia to be replaced by other Allied soldiers is needed; an immediate suppression of the Korfanty uprising, strict guard of the Polish border, and an adherence to the plebiscite.

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Contemporary American Novelists

By CARL VAN DOREN

V. JOSEPH HERGESHEIMER

JOSEPH HERGESHEIMER employs his creative strategy over the precarious terrain of the decorative arts, some of his work lying on each side of the dim line which separates the most consummate artifice of which the hands of talent are capable from the essential art which springs naturally from the instincts of genius. On the side of artifice, certainly, lie several of the shorter stories in "Gold and Iron" and "The Happy End," for which, he declares, his grocer is as responsible as any one; and on the side of art, no less certainly, lie at least "Java Head," in which artifice, though apparent now and then, repeatedly surrenders the field to an art which is admirably authentic, and "Linda Condon," perhaps the most beautiful American novel since Hawthorne and Henry James. Standing thus in a middle ground between art and artifice, Mr. Hergesheimer stands also in a middle ground between the unrelieved realism of the newer school of American fiction and the genteel moralism of the older. "I had been spared," he says with regard to moralism, "the dreary and impertinent duty of improving the world; the whole discharge of my responsibility was contained in the imperative obligation to see with relative truth, to put down the colors and scents and emotions of existence." And with regard to realism: "If I could put on paper an apple tree rosy with blossom, someone else might discuss the economy of the apples."

Mr. Hergesheimer does not, of course, merely blunder into beauty; his methods are far from being accidental; by deliberate aims and principles he holds himself close to the regions of the decorative. He likes the rococo and the Victorian, ornament without any obvious utility, grace without any busy function. He refuses to feel confident that the passing of elegant privilege need be a benefit: "A maze of clipped box, old emerald sod, represented a timeless striving for superiority, for, at least, the illusion of triumph over the littorals of slime; and their destruction in waves of hysteria, sentimentality, and envy was immeasurably disastrous." For himself he clings sturdily, ardently, to loveliness wherever he finds it—preferring, however, its richer, its elaborated forms. To borrow an antithesis remarked by a brilliant critic in the work of Amy Lowell, Mr. Hergesheimer seems at times as much concerned with the stuffs as with the stuff of life. His landscapes, his interiors, his costumes he sets forth with a profusion of exquisite details which gives his texture the semblance of brocade—always gorgeous but now and then a little stiff with its splendors of silk and gold. An admitted personal inclination to "the extremes of luxury" struggles in Mr. Hergesheimer with an artistic passion for "words as disarmingly simple as the leaves of spring—as simple and as lovely in pure color—about the common experience of life and death"; and more than anything else this conflict explains the presence in all but his finest work of occasional heavy elements which weight it down and the presence in his most popular narratives of a constant lift of beauty and lucidity which will not let them sag into the average.

One comes tolerably close to the secret of Mr. Hergesheimer's career by perceiving that, with an admirable style of which he is both conscious and—very properly—proud, he has looked luxuriously through the world for subjects which his style will fit. Particularly has he emancipated himself from the bondage to nook and corner which long hampered the local color school. The small inland towns of "The Lay Anthony," the blue Virginia valleys of "Mountain Blood," the evolving Pennsylvania iron districts of "The Three Black Pennys," the antique Salem of "Java Head," the fashionable hotels and houses of "Linda Condon," the scattered exotic localities of the short stories—in all these Mr. Hergesheimer is at home with the cool insouciance of genius, at home as he could not be without an erudition founded in the keenest observation and research. At the same time, he has not satisfied himself with the cluttered catalogues of some types of naturalism. "The individuality of places and hours absorbed me . . . the perception of the inanimate moods of place. . . . Certainly houses and night and hills were often more vivid to me than the people in or out of them." He has loved the scenes wherein his events are transacted; he has brooded over their moods, their significances. Neither pantheistic, however, nor very speculative, Mr. Hergesheimer does not endow places with a half-divine, a half-daemonic sentience; instead he works more nearly in the fashion of his master Turgenev, or of Flaubert, scrutinizing the surfaces of landscapes and cities and human habitations until they gradually reveal what—for the particular observer—is the essence of their charm or horror, and come, obedient to the evoking imagination, into the picture.

Substantial as Mr. Hergesheimer makes his scene by a masterful handling of locality, he goes still further, adds still another dimension, by his equally masterful handling of the past as an element in his microcosm. "There was at least this to be said for what I had, in writing, laid back in point of time—no one had charged me with an historical novel," he boasts. Readers in general hardly notice how large a use of history appears in, for instance, "The Three Black Pennys" and "Java Head." The one goes as far back as to colonial Pennsylvania for the beginning of its chronicle, and the other as far as to Salem in the days of the first clipper ship; and yet by no paraphernalia of languid airs or archaic idioms or strutting heroics does either of the novels fall into the orthodox historical tradition. They have the vivid, multiplied detail of a contemporary record. And this is the more notable for the reason that the characters in each of them stand against the background of a highly technical profession—that of iron-making through three generations, that of shipping under sail to all the quarters of the earth. The wharves of Mr. Hergesheimer's Salem, the furnaces of his Myrtle Forge, are thick with accurate, pungent, delightful facts. If he has explored the past in a deliberate hunt for picturesque images of actuality with which to incrust his narrative, and has at times—particularly in "The Three Black Pennys"—given it an exaggerated patina, nevertheless he has refused to yield himself to the mere spell of the past and has regularly subdued its "colors and scents and emotions" to his own purposes. His materials may be rococo, but not his use of them. The conflict between his personal

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preference for luxury and his artistic passion for austerity shows itself in his methods with history: though the historical periods which interest him are bounded, one may say, by the minuet and the music-box, he permits the least possible contagion of prettiness to invade his plots. They are fresh and passionate, simple and real, however elaborate their trappings. With the fullest intellectual sophistication, Mr. Hergesheimer has artistically the courage of naivete. He subtracts nothing from the common realities of human character when he displays it in some past age, but preserves it intact. The charming erudition of his surfaces is added to reality, not substituted for it.

Without question the particular triumph of these novels is the women who appear in them. Decorative art in fiction has rarely gone farther than with Taou Yuen, the marvelous Manchu woman brought home from Shanghai to Salem as wife of a Yankee skipper in "Java Head." She may be taken as focus and symbol of Mr. Hergesheimer's luxurious inclinations. By her bewildering complexity of costume, by her intricate ceremonial observances, by the impenetrability of her outward demeanor, she belongs rather to art than to life—an Oriental Galatea radiantly adorned but not wholly metamorphosed from her native marble. Only at intervals does some glimpse or other come of the tender flesh shut up in her magnificent garments or of the tender spirit schooled by flawless, immemorial discipline to an absolute decorum. That such glimpses come just preserves her from appearing a mere figure of tapestry, a fine mechanical toy. The Salem which before her arrival seems quaintly formal enough immediately thereafter seems by contrast raw and new, and her beauty glitters like a precious gem in some plain man's house. Much the same effect, on a less vivid scale, is produced in "The Three Black Pennys" by the presence on the Pennsylvania frontier—it is almost that—of Ludowika Winscombe, who has always lived at Court and who brings new fragrances, new dainty rites, into the forest; and in "Mountain Blood" by the presence among the Appalachian highlands of that ivory, icy meretrix Meta Beggs who plans to drive the best possible bargain for her virgin favors. Meta carries the decorative traits of Mr. Hergesheimer's women to the point at which they suggest the marionette too much; by his methods, of course, he habitually runs the risk of leaving the flesh and blood out of his women. He leaves out, at least, with no fluttering compunctions, any special concern for the simpler biological aspects of the sex: "It was not what the woman had in common with a rabbit that was important, but her difference. On one hand that difference was moral, but on the other aesthetic; and I had been absorbed by the latter." "I couldn't get it into my head that loveliness, which had a trick of staying in the mind at points of death when all service was forgotten, was rightly considered to be of less importance than the sweat of some kitchen drudge."

Such robust doctrine is a long way from the customary sentimentalism of novelists about maids, wives, mothers, and widows. Indeed, Mr. Hergesheimer, like Poe before him, inclines very definitely toward beauty rather than toward humanity, where distinctions may be drawn between them. In Linda Condon, however, his most remarkable creation, he has brought humanity and beauty together in an intimate fusion. Less exotic than Taou Yuen, Linda, with her straight black bang and her extravagant simplicity of taste, is no less exquisite. And like Taou Yuen she affords Mr. Hergesheimer the opportunity he most desires—"to realize that sharp sense of beauty which came from a firm, delicate consciousness of certain high pretensions, valors, maintained in the face of imminent destruction. . . . In that category none was sharper than the charm of a woman, soon to perish, in a vanity of array as momentary and iridescent as a May-fly." It is as the poet musing upon the fleet passage of beauty rather than as the satirist mocking at the vanity of human wishes that Mr. Hergesheimer traces the career of Linda Condon; but both poet and satirist meet in his masterpiece. A woman as lovely as a lyric, she is almost as insensible as a steel blade or a bright star. The true marvel is that beauty so cold can provoke such conflagrations. Granted—and certain subtle women decline to grant it—that Linda with her shining emptiness could have kindled the passion she kindles in the story, what must be the blackness of her discovery that when her beauty goes she will have left none of the generous affection which, had she herself given it through life, she might by this time have earned in quantities sufficient to endow and compensate her for old age! Mr. Hergesheimer does not soften the blow when it comes—he even adds to her agony the clear consciousness that she cannot feel her plight as more passionate natures might. But he allows her, at the last, a little intimation of immortality. From her unresponding beauty, she sees, her sculptor lover has caught a madness eventually sublimated to a Platonic vision which, partially forgetful of her as an individual, has made him and his works great. Without, in the common way, modeling her at all, he has snared the essence of her spirit and has set it—as such mortal things go—everlastingly in bronze.

If Mr. Hergesheimer offers Linda in the end only the hard comfort of a perception come at largely through her intellect, still as far as the art of his novel is concerned he has immensely gained by his refusal to make any trivial concession to natural weaknesses. His latest conclusion is his best. "The Lay Anthony" ends in accident, "Mountain Blood" in melodrama; "The Three Black Pennys," more successful than its predecessors, fades out like the Penny line; "Java Head" turns sharply away from its central theme, almost as if "Hamlet" should concern itself during a final scene with Horatio's personal perplexities. Now the conclusions of a novelist are on the whole the test of his judgment and his honesty; and it promises much for fiction that Mr. Hergesheimer has advanced so steadily in this respect through his seven books. He has advanced, too, in his use of decoration, which reached its most sumptuous in "Java Head" and which in "Linda Condon" happily began to show a more austere control. The question which criticism asks is whether Mr. Hergesheimer has not gone as far as a practitioner of the decorative arts can go, and whether he ought not, during the remainder of the eminent career which awaits him, work rather in the direction marked by "Linda Condon" than in that marked by "Java Head." The rumor that his friends advise him to become a "period novelist" must disquiet his admirers—even those among them who cannot think him likely to act upon advice so dangerous to his art. Doubtless he could go on and write another "Salammbô," but he does not need to: he has already written "Java Head." When a novelist has reached the limits of decoration, there still stretches out before him the endless road—which Mr. Hergesheimer has given evidence that he can travel—of the interpretation and elucidation of human character and its devious fortunes in the world.

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In the Driftway

EVIDENTLY the General Assembly of Connecticut cannot take a joke. As readers of the newspapers know, the fight in that State between the daylight savers and the daylight wasters has been lively, but so far as legislation goes, the latter have won, the bill to set the clocks ahead during the summer having been defeated. Not so in practice. Hartford and various other cities decided to adopt daylight saving by "common consent"—one of the best ways ever devised for accomplishing anything. In this they were quite within their rights, but the legislators became irritable when they saw all the townsmen of Hartford running out to lunch while by the clocks of the State House it was still only 11 a. m. The legislators had heard the word "revolution" misapplied so much that it was the first term that came to their lips, and forthwith they began to use it in describing the coup d'etat of the daylight savers. They talked about revoking the charters of the "revolting" cities, and finally a worthy descendant of the Wooden Nutmeg introduced a bill into the General Assembly providing that no community should be entitled to State money if its clocks did not keep Eastern standard time. "Time is money," but in Connecticut only Eastern standard time is money—from the legislature. Is this what is meant by a Conn. game?

* * * * *

THEY order those things better in Monticello, New York. There they know how to take, and enjoy, a joke. The Court House clock, in obedience to a county edict, ticks off Eastern standard time. The Town Hall clock strikes daylight saving time by direction of a village ordinance. One newspaper is for the old time and the other for the new. Some men are trying to report for work by the late and quit by the early time. Nobody is fussing so long as he has a good time.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Historical Analogies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: April 19, the anniversary of Lexington and Concord, I read on the bronze tablet on the green in front of the meeting house at Concord as follows:

> The first Provincial Congress of delegates from the towns of Massachusetts was called by conventions of the people to meet at Concord on the 11th day of October, 1774.
>
> The delegates assembled here in the meeting house on that day and organized with John Hancock as president and Benjamin Lincoln as secretary.
>
> Called together to maintain the rights of the people, this Congress assumed the government of the Province and by its measures prepared the way for the War of the Revolution.

Remembering that the Royal Governor still sat in Boston, that General Gage's troops still represented the authority of England, and that the Province, nevertheless, calmly recognized and accepted the new rebel government, the resemblance to a certain phase of the present situation in Ireland would seem sufficient even for Professor Andrews.

That same night I read in the Boston *Transcript* Mr. Lloyd George's irritating attempt to justify the British Government's treatment of the Irish rebellion by calling it a "secession" and comparing it to the Southern Secession of 1861. Admitting the limitations of historical analogy, and that circumstances alter cases for controversial purposes, we may at least be permitted to remember that the Southern States entered the Union voluntarily in fact—not by an Act of Union in which Catholics and the poor (a majority) could not vote; that they were not a different nation of different blood and different culture; that they had not been conquered and held in subjugation by force in the face of continuous rebellion for seven hundred years; and that the Southern Secession would never have occurred but for the institution of slavery.

Yet, if we are to agree with Mr. Lloyd George that the Irish affair, too, is a schism in one of the two great branches of the English-speaking race, let us observe that one of the most important points of comparison is lacking; namely, that in the present instance the other branch is not brazenly, blatantly, boastfully (and profitably), and if not officially at least with the open conniving and permission of the Government, supporting the rebels even to the point that the Ambassador of the one must write to the Prime Minister of the other, as Adams wrote to Earl Russell: "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war."

Newton, Massachusetts, April 26 PRESCOTT WARREN

Teaching the Young Idea How to Gas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have just finished reading your article, Our Aggressive Foreign Policy, in the current issue of *The Nation*, and I think it is one of the truest estimates of the tendency in our country today. This aggressiveness is not confined to the Federal Government, but certain large munition interests are promoting the spirit of war in a more subtle way.

Last Saturday I received a package through the mail under cover of an envelope of the Boy Scouts of America. The package contained a copy of Edwin E. Slosson's "Creative Chemistry," a copy of an address Shall America Remain the Only Important Country at the Mercy of the German Chemists? and a 70-page booklet on "The Chemical Foundation, Incorporated." About a week before this came I had a letter from The Chemical Foundation, describing the importance of chemistry in war and urging me to use the books which they were sending to interest my troop of Boy Scouts in chemistry, with special emphasis upon the fact that the next war would be won by the nation with the greatest chemistry. I refuse to preach war to my Scouts, and I think the good of the Scout movement is being prostituted to a mighty low aim when the hundreds of thousands of boys in it are imposed upon by permission in this way. I understand the book is to be sent to all Scoutmasters in New York; I am not sure about elsewhere.

The Chemical Foundation, 81 Fulton Street, New York City, was organized to take over the patents of German chemists in this country at the suggestion of Mr. Palmer, recently United States Attorney General. The Alien Property Custodian sold to the Foundation "substantially all of the German dye and chemical patents, seized by him." In your fight against military preparedness I think you ought to give some attention to the Foundation.

New York, May 4 R. CLYDE WHITE

Originality Rather than Safety

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following passage taken from "The Letters of William James" (vol. I, p. 302) might properly be submitted to the consideration of the presidents and boards of trustees of Gopher Prairie and all other colleges: "His [William James's] conviction in respect to all academic appointments was that youth and originality should be sought rather than 'safety'; that the way to organize a strong philosophical department was to get men of different schools into its faculty, and that they should expound dissimilar rather than harmonious points of view and doctrines."

Pasadena, April 9 A. B.

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Mary Magdalene

By LEONORA SPEYER

I think that Mary Magdalene
Was just a woman who went to dine,
And her jewels covered her empty heart
And her gown was the color of wine.

I think that Mary Magdalene
Sat by a stranger with shining head.
"Haven't we met somewhere?" she asked,
"Magdalene! Mary!" he said.

I think that Mary Magdalene
Fell at his feet and called his name;
Sat at his feet and wept her woe
And rose up clean of shame.

Nobody knew but Magdalene,
Mary, the woman who went to dine;
Nobody saw how he broke the bread
And poured for her peace the wine.

This is the story of Magdalene—
It isn't the tale the Apostles tell,
But I know the woman it happened to,
I know the woman well.

Books

The Italian in America

The Italian Contribution to American Democracy. By John H. Mariano. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House.

DURING the first fifteen years of the present century there was a flow of books on immigration, comparable in quantity and variety to the alien stream itself. Then came the European War. It virtually stopped immigration, and thus interest in it. We forgot that we had an "immigration problem." Now, with a renewal of the westward human current, the subject is again to the front; but we are approaching it in a different way. Instead of studying immigration, we are concerned mainly with what we are pleased to call Americanization. With some writers the term is only an affectation—an artificial seeking to meet a demand. With others it is the recognition of a changed condition. Not only has the war made us more introspective in regard to the elements and character of our nationality, but we have reached a point where we can begin to examine the "newer immigration" not merely in a detached way—as we would a new arrival at the zoo—but as it affects and is affected by America. What is called the "newer immigration" began about thirty years ago. It represented, roughly, a change from the people of northern to those of southern Europe—from Germans, Scandinavians, English, and Irish to Italians, Jews from eastern Europe, Poles, Slovaks, Slovenians, Magyars, and other races. Owing to barriers of speech and custom, most of this "newer immigration" remained as foreign and aloof in America as if it had stayed at home. "We will have to wait for the children to grow up," we said. "They will be good Americans."

Well, during the interlude of the war the children have been growing up—some of them are grown. What kind of Americans are they? What is the country gaining or losing by their presence? What have they gained or lost in America?

These questions Mr. Mariano seeks to answer with respect to the Italians by a study of the second generation of that race in New York City. From various figures he estimates that in a total population of 5,748,629 persons in 1917 the Italians numbered 730,842, about equally divided between those born abroad and those of American nativity. For the purposes of his inquiry he regards Italian-born children who reached America before they were fourteen years old as in the same group as the native-born. On this account he adds 10 per cent of the Italian-born population to the number of the American-born, which gives him 406,805 persons whom he classifies as "Americans of Italian extraction." The children have been growing up, did one say? Yes, but the second generation is still overwhelmingly in the early, formative years. Forty-seven per cent of the second generation in New York City are not more than ten years of age and 81 per cent are not more than twenty. Only 1 per cent are over forty. Italians of all classifications constitute only 12 per cent of the city's population, but the second generation forms 30 per cent of the school-going population.

Mr. Mariano has assembled a quantity of valuable material on occupations, health, crime, thrift, standard of living, material progress, mental traits, education, organizations, culture, and other topics bearing on the development of the second generation. His facts are not always clearly stated, and at times he loses the critical sense, as when he gives six lines to Dr. Antonio Stella, eminent as physician, citizen, and Italian, but devotes two pages to a eulogy of James E. March, whose career as politician and padrone represents just that kind of success that is least worthy of emulation by the second generation of his race. On the whole, though, Mr. Mariano attacks his subject with intelligence, and writes in a tone commendably free from jingoism or self-sufficiency in regard to Americanization. Wisely, perhaps, he does not attempt to define either "Americanism" or "Democracy," but he rules out a good many objectionable conceptions. He quotes Grace Abbott of the Federal Children's Bureau in condemnation of those who "consider our institutions more important than the ends these institutions were created to serve"; he deprecates the talk of the necessity of bringing our immigrant peoples up to the standard of the cultures prevalent among the older generations. "In effect this was to set up a type as already existing that represents the last word in things American," he comments. "One got the impression that the ultimate American could be seen walking the streets."

Likewise Mr. Mariano rejects the fol-de-rol of "race superiority," which the war has done so much to revive, basing his position on the best modern science. He finds "high variability" to be an outstanding feature of the mental life of Italians, but says of the second generation that "from the standpoint of race no significant differences exist between these and other individuals of other racial descents." He quotes figures showing a great increase in recent years of mixed marriages involving Italians, and looks for still greater synthetization in the future. In common with thoughtful persons among the older Americans, Mr. Mariano sees that we have exploited the body of the immigrant while throwing his soul on the scrap-heap; with jingo ideas of Americanization we are trying to stamp him with a red, white, and blue die, scornful of the great cultural and spiritual contributions which he has to give. Worst of all, the second generation outdoes all other Americans in its contempt for the life of the fathers.

Twenty years ago people were asking if the children of the "newer immigration" would become "patriotic Americans." These children have become the most fervid little patriots in the country. Whether they have become "good Americans" is a deeper question; and how good America has been to them is equally important, although commonly ignored. A suggestive part of Mr. Mariano's book is a compilation of answers to a questionnaire which he sent to a thousand persons, from whom he received 397 replies. He asked Americans of Italian extraction what their group had gained in America. What that group had lost he asked of Italians only. He asked Americans

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of other descents: "What is the chief contribution that the American of Italian extraction makes to our American democracy?" It is surprising to note that a majority of the replies in regard to gains emphasize political rather than economic opportunity. Summarizing the losses of the Italian of the second generation, Mr. Mariano says: "They are his good manners, family ties, and at the beginning a reverence for race and elders. The first two 'losses' are peculiar to the Italian home; the last is a condition that obtains among all first generations of Americans." The answers in regard to the Italian contribution to American life are suggestive:

Norman Hapgood writes: "Industry so far; inspiration, I hope, hereafter"; Professor Grandgent of Harvard sees a lesson to older Americans "to appreciate the pleasure that everyday life affords"; William Dean Howells puts it: "Eager and unfailing industry, and politeness until they, too, imagine that politeness is un-American"; John Collier says: "He contributes to our civilization and therefore to our democracy that Hellenic element which Matthew Arnold contrasts with the Hebraic element. Not merely beauty and idealism and a tendency toward encouraging fulness of life, but an intellectual realism whose activity is predicated on this aesthetic view of life."

Like many others, Mr. Mariano is obviously a little appalled as he surveys the second generation—as he realizes how many have seized only what is noisiest, most recent, and least noble in the life about them. But he is hopeful in the thought that what we have is "a type in transition," a phrase to which he repeatedly adverts. These youths do not represent the "ultimate American," nor are they Italians, "for they scorn and are scorned by the adult Italian."

Exuberantly and thoughtlessly we plunged into this great experiment in the synthetization of races, and now that the alloy is commencing to run from the melting-pot, we are a little surprised and alarmed. But it is both foolish and futile to be discouraged. We were too hasty when we expected a finished product in the second generation. We must await another—perhaps many another. Assuredly, the children of the "newer immigration" are not quite what we hoped for; but are the children of any of the rest of us?

ARTHUR WARNER

Shakespeare's Lost Years

Shakespeare's Lost Years in London, 1586-1592. By Arthur Acheson. Brentano's.

IT is now nearly twenty years since Mr. Acheson issued his program or manifesto in which he undertook to follow out and carry to the point of proof the "several plausible conjectures" regarding Shakespeare's personality and private life which had been evolved by the "text-critics" and which, if proved, "would materially assist in visualizing for us the actual man" and "would lend some form and semblance of his personality" to the bare biographical outline constructed by antiquarian research. The fruits of this undertaking have been the well-known volumes dealing respectively with the "Rival Poet" and with the "Dark Lady" of the Sonnets. In the Advertisement to the latter work Mr. Acheson presented briefly the main conclusions about the plays of the "sonnet period" which he had reached, promising in future volumes to submit the necessary proofs. The present work is an instalment of these proofs. Mr. Acheson is a most painstaking, suggestive, ingenious, and arduous critic. He spares himself no trouble in the amassing of what he considers evidence; and while his main conclusions must be pronounced most questionable hypotheses at best and at worst most far-fetched fancies, one gladly recognizes the value of some of the by-products of his researches. And it must be said further that even in his most feebly supported conjectures there is food for thought, stimulus to further investigation.

The basic flaw in his work is that he set about it not open-mindedly but with certain preconceived opinions, to support which he welcomed anything that seemed to him in the nature of evidence. Just what evidence is it does not seem to have occurred to him to inquire. Nor has he reasoned out the nature of coincidence. Since he is unfortified against these attacks, it is natural for him to accept as definite allusions to Shakespeare some chance word or phrase to which the author of it perhaps never dreamed that any such connotation could be affixed; Chapman speaks of "judgment's butcher" and Mr. Acheson's instant interpretation is that the epithet carries an allusion to "the supposed fact that Shakespeare's father was a butcher." Moreover, even when an hypothesis is advanced tentatively, within a few pages we may come upon it again to find it employed as the trustworthy and proved support for some further step in the critic's argument. Such processes of reasoning vitiate his authoritativeness as a critic. Mr. Acheson is unfair to himself.

The chief "preconceived opinion" with which Mr. Acheson began his Shakespearean studies was that allusions to Shakespeare's private affairs and to the affairs of his friends and to various public events entered into the composition of all, or nearly all, the plays. As his argument has developed this hypothesis has branched out in various directions: to Mr. Acheson the Earl of Southampton is beyond question the patron of Shakespeare; Mistress Davenant is the link between the two and the key to the mystery of the Sonnets; Chapman, the "rival poet," and Matthew Roydon, the author of the much discussed and infinitely tiresome "Willobie his Avisa," and Chapman and Roydon are the center of a gross, bitter, libelous and long-drawn-out warfare waged against the gentle Shakespeare. The chief contention now advanced is that John Florio, who was tutor to Southampton, quarreled with Shakespeare and that the purpose of the latter in writing the first draft of "King Henry the Fourth, Part One" was to warn his patron that poor Florio was a very Falstaff, a "misleader of youth." In the course of this discussion other matters are touched upon: the early relationship of Shakespeare and Burbage; the notion that following the first meeting of Shakespeare and Southampton in August, 1591, Shakespeare began at once to use the events of Southampton's private life as material for all his plays; and the claim that "King John" was composed in 1591 to stir up sympathy for Sir John Perrott, who was imprisoned at the time.

It is in this chapter on Perrott that Mr. Acheson's illusive plausibility is most apparent. There are certainly singular resemblances between Perrott, the natural son of Henry the Eighth, and the bastard Falconbridge. Mr. Acheson has drawn up a series of detailed and almost convincing parallels. For the obvious objection that Falconbridge is a character in the old play of "The Troublesome Reign" Mr. Acheson is prepared by contending that the author of that play likewise intended that his audience should see resemblances between the bastard and Elizabeth's stormy, virile, and picturesque half-brother.

The book thus runs the gamut of ingenuity, from the well-nigh convincing, through the dangerously plausible, to the merely fantastic. It is a tangle of tenuous evidence and involved inference. It is impossible wholly to refute because we are here dealing not with a dishonest person who distorts evidence, but with a sincere, high-minded enthusiast who has the congenital habit of requiring of wisps of fact that they bear a burden of deduction too heavy for them to carry. Hence his work always commands respect. And hence his arguments seldom, if ever, carry conviction.

SAMUEL C. CHEW

The Press and Politics in Japan

The Press and Politics in Japan. By Kisauburo Kawabe. The Chicago University Press.

JAPAN was conquered by its own militarists a thousand years ago and is still terrorized by them. They have held unbroken power and have never changed their animus or purpose. Despite abundant phenomenal change in governmental routine, the people act in the main from habit and tradition and not from modern education. The history of politics, since 1868, has

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meant simply the rise and alignment of new classes or groups. Political parties have as yet no relation to the people. Party government has no meaning apart from clan instincts or class interests. The men of the sword still rule. This is the real thesis which Dr. Kawabe's facts set forth, though he does not make this his open contention.

The hope of democracy in Japan lies in journalism, under which can best be massed and drilled the forces already latent or in development and looking to democratic ends. Yet until 1860 scarcely five Japanese in a million knew what a modern newspaper was. Only a few hundred persons were interested in the subject of government. The men in power treated those who held different political opinions as traitors and cut off their heads. This was the rule both inside the nigh three hundred clans and in the center at Yedo. It was the only and the approved way to secure unanimity of "public" opinion.

Dr. Kawabe, educated in America, has written a most welcome, illuminating, and informing book. Nevertheless, it is defective as regards the period before 1875. He does not mention the real father of journalism in Japan, Guido F. Verbeck, the accomplished American missionary. In 1859 Verbeck purposely chose Nagasaki as his field of labor, in the extreme southwest, whence nearly all of modern Japan's ablest men have come. Rich in European culture, able to use eight languages, with a unique opportunity, an unremitting zeal, and a comprehensive foresight and versatility, he in one decade taught half the young men who made the Government of 1868. Then he became their first adviser in Tokio, head of their university, and planner of the national education system. He it was who proposed the great embassy round the world, in the personnel of which over one-half were Verbeck's pupils.

The reviewer, on arriving in Japan in 1870, when political outbreaks with their resultant crops of heads on poles and pillories were common, found Verbeck busy at an elaborate paper dealing with the freedom of the press, especially in relation to law and order. This, in due time, he submitted to the Government—the chief administrators holding sessions in the parlor of their American servant. It was hard for these men, who themselves had suffered or lost friends for their political opinions, to change, now that they were in power, from the eye-for-an-eye and the tooth-for-a-tooth policy. In fact, for years to come, and until 1879, a cabinet minister went out sword in hand in the good old style to cut off heads. In this way votes of censure were met. Finally, after the new despotism had been, as of old, sufficiently "tempered by assassination," Ito laid aside the sword and substituted incarceration for decapitation. He began imprisoning enemies for differences in political opinion. Then Ito went to Europe, to sit at the feet of Bismarck, ignoring the chance to study in England. Returning home, he drafted a constitution which fixes the real seat of authority not in throne or emperor but in the Upper House, the military class, an invincible bureaucracy with two irremovable members of the Cabinet—the ministers of war and navy, who are able at any time to wreck it—while only a fraction of the budget can be controlled by the Lower House. How the militarists have riveted chains upon a nation, dictated diplomacy, debauched religion, prostituted education, and made all human activities controllable by government serve their purpose belongs to another volume, which Dr. Kawabe may yet furnish.

The critical reader, who will not be misled by phrases, will value this work highly. It tells of mechanical and other difficulties surmounted and of national methods of transportation and education developed, without which successful journalism is impossible. The political awakening of the masses has been an amazing achievement, and it now remains to be seen whether the military and aristocracy can keep back the rising tide of democracy, especially as concerns labor. Japan has tried hard to isolate herself from the shock of interior change, without securing what can accurately be called a success. In the past she kept her isolation, through hermitage. Now a minority intrenched in privilege seek to build an iron-clad wall of exclusion on a foundation based on mythology and fairy tales with little or no vital relation to the soul of that world civilization which her own more enlightened people crave. Those who have seen the old Japan—as rich in horrors as in beauty—do not despair, and Dr. Kawabe's book helps them to hope. Iyeyasu said "The people are the foundation of the Empire," and the age of the sword is sure to give way to the age of discussion.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS

The Peace Conference

A History of the Peace Conference of Paris. Edited by H. W. V. Temperley. Vols. I-III. Oxford University Press.

THIS imposing work, two volumes of which have yet to appear, will probably long remain the most authoritative as well as the most elaborate record in English of the Peace Conference. The undertaking apparently owes its inception and its form largely to the late Professor George Louis Beer and Lord Eustace Percy, members respectively of the American and British delegations. The names of some sixteen American and English scholars are given as contributors to Volumes I and II, although their several shares, except that of Mr. A. G. Ogilvie of Manchester University, who is responsible for the sketch maps in all three volumes, are not indicated.

The plan of the work, which as a whole constitutes the first publication of the Institute of International Affairs, includes much more than a history of the Conference and a collection of its documents. As a preliminary to the account of the peace negotiations we have a survey of the immediate political background of the war, the whole course of military and naval operations, the political and economic effects of the war upon the countries involved in it, the events of the armistice period, and the war aims of the belligerents. These matters, which as a whole are extremely well handled and embody a good deal of frank criticism, fill the first half of Volume I. The account of the organization and work of the Conference and of the Supreme Economic Council, which together with a discussion of the pre-armistice agreement and the armistice convention with Germany occupies most of the second half of Volume II, is an authoritative and critical record for which every student will be grateful. The texts of all the armistice documents are given in an appendix.

Volume II is wholly devoted to an exhaustive analysis of the pre-armistice agreement and the treaty with Germany and of the principles which they were intended to embody. Nothing so thorough, so detailed, and so critical has thus far been published anywhere, although particular phases of the subject, especially the question of reparation and indemnity, have been more searchingly examined in special studies like that of Professor Keynes. To this is added an informing chapter on the history of Germany from the resignation of the Prince Max Government, in November, 1918, to January, 1920, including the formation of the new German Constitution. Volume III comprises the official English text of the Treaty of Versailles and the official index, together with English texts of the German Constitution and of the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, extracts from the speeches and messages of Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, and others, and a useful chronological summary of events from June, 1914, to August, 1920. The treaties with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey are presumably to be dealt with in later volumes.

It is obvious that Professor Temperley and his associates have worked under some restrictions. They evidently have not felt themselves at liberty to discuss at any length the personal or political characteristics of the leaders who actually made the peace, and a number of important documents have apparently not been available. The most remarkable omission noted has to do with the question of Shantung, in regard to which the

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elaborate discussion of the Versailles settlement is silent. One cannot read the masterly evisceration of President Wilson's political philosophy and policy without wishing that a dissection equally thoroughgoing had been applied to the notions and acts of Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

War and Peace

Poems. By Wilfrid Owen. B. W. Huebsch, Inc.
The Waggoner. By Edmund Blunden. Alfred A. Knopf.

ONE did not believe that any further volumes of war poetry, even anti-war poetry, could come to this country from England and be impressive. It seemed certain that Siegfried Sassoon and Osbert Sitwell, one with his denunciation of generals and the other with his denudation of civilians, had said the last word about incredible nations in factitious conflict. So that an American edition of Wilfrid Owen had to overcome what looked like permanent public inertia. Nor was such an edition especially recommended by the announcement that its original in London had aroused virtually all the critics of any importance there to acclaim Wilfrid Owen the poet of the war. America once had heard that Mr. Sassoon was the poet of the war, had read him, and had found him dull. But Wilfrid Owen's poems come from England now, and they convince. They make a small volume, yet one that is more sincere in its least line than the average volume is in its whole bulk. The preface, found in an unfinished condition among the soldier's papers after his death, contains among others these three jottings:

> Above all, this book is not concerned with Poetry.
> The subject of it is War, and the pity of War.
> The Poetry is in the pity.

The pieces which follow are rugged, thickly knit, and hoarse with intentional dissonances. Anger, or pity, gathers in each as it proceeds, and discharges accusation at the end:

> If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace
> Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
> And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
> His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin,
> If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
> Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs
> Bitten as the cud
> Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues—
> My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
> To children ardent for some desperate glory,
> The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est*
> *Pro patria mori.*

If the poetry of the pity of war ends with Wilfrid Owen (as he prayed it would not), it will end in a thoroughly good and memorable book.

In Edmund Blunden England drops out of the world, forgets the war, and returns or departs to pastoral poetry. It is an infinite distance from the shell-holes and the bloody, stumbling men of Wilfrid Owen's poems to the secret coppices where Mr. Blunden watches green and silver fish slip through black weir-water. "The Waggoner" is as cool to the touch as a rock at the bottom of a spring, and it is as brightly incrusted with bubbles. It basks under no warm sun and scans no friendly fields. It does not belong to the enameled-green, the high-lawn, the billiard-table tradition of pastoral verse. It creates another landscape of its own, a landscape darkly thicketed and withdrawn, a country underrun with shadowed streams, a private wilderness significant with fatal birds. Mr. Blunden has chosen his language with no less care than he has chosen his scene, which is to say, one eventually must admit, with overcare. He has been passionately local in his diction, crowding his stanzas, as Mr. Masefield does, with primitive Anglo-Saxon monosyllables that singly are fresh but by accumulation become thick and throaty to the degree of Lewis Carroll at his merriest:

> There, where the floods made fields forlorn,
> The glinzy ice grows thicker through.
>
> While through the avenues of hops
> The measurers and the pokeboys go.
> The measurers scoop the heaped hops out,
> While gaitered binmen move about
> With sharpened hopdog, at whose blow
> The stubborn cluster drops.

There is scarcely a passage which it would be fair to Mr. Blunden to quote by way of commendation, for on every page his atmosphere is richer than either art or nature demands. But it is clear what new thing he has tried to do, and it is certain that if he does it henceforth with restraint he will write astonishingly beautiful poetry.

MARK VAN DOREN

The Kaiser vs. Bismarck

The Kaiser vs. Bismarck. Suppressed Letters by the Kaiser and New Chapters from the Autobiography of the Iron Chancellor. Harper and Brothers.

THE above title is somewhat misleading. The volume is supposed to be all the hitherto unpublished parts of Bismarck's "Reminiscences," which were prepared for the press some years ago but the publication of which was postponed until after the Kaiser's death. The translation was made by Bernard Miall from German proofs furnished by Cotta. Six illustrations appear in the English edition—the two famous *Punch* cartoons, Dropping the Pilot and Rocking the Boat, some photographs of the Kaiser, Lenbach's portrait of Bismarck, and a manufactured picture showing the Kaiser, with a paper in his hand, standing in conversation with Bismarck. This last is intended to illustrate the statement in the text: "The Kaiser took the paper from my hand, read it, and appeared to be justly wounded." In placing this quotation under the picture, the editor has made it read: "The Kaiser *snatched* the paper from my hand," etc. No doubt a little artfulness of this kind is still legitimate in dealing with the Kaiser.

The brief volume is concerned almost entirely with the circumstances that led to the retirement of the Chancellor. It is interesting reading, gives a number of hitherto unpublished documents, and furnishes a good deal of new detail in respect to that important event. But in the main it only confirms what was already known. The question of foreign policy, specifically of the renewal of the Russian treaty, apparently played no part in the dispute. The question of policy upon which the Kaiser and the Chancellor disagreed related to the method of dealing with the Socialists, a disagreement which arose before the Kaiser ascended the throne; but the specific issue out of which the dismissal came was the refusal of the Kaiser to deal with the Ministry solely through the Chancellor. "'I receive scarcely any reports now from my ministers,' the Kaiser complained one day. 'I have been told that you have forbidden them to give me reports except with your consent or in your presence, and that you are relying on an old yellow order that was completely forgotten.' I explained that this was not the case at all. This order of September, 1852, which had been in force as long as our Constitution had existed, was indispensable to every Prime Minister. . . . If there was to be a Prime Minister, the substance of this order must be authoritative. The Kaiser asserted that the order in question limited his royal prerogative, and demanded its revocation. . . . At the close of the discussion I asked his Majesty whether he insisted upon expressly ordering me to withdraw the order of 1852. . . . The answer was a curt 'Yes.' . . . On the following morning, the 17th of March, Hahnke returned, in order regretfully to inform me that His Majesty insisted on the revocation of the order, and was expecting, from the report which he, Hahnke,

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had given him of his conversation with me on the previous day, that I should forthwith hand in my resignation." The Chancellor thereupon drafted a letter of resignation, which was handed in on the following day.

The real point at issue was, of course, not whether there should be a Prime Minister, but whether the Kaiser was or was not to have the effective direction of the government. The Kaiser was bound, like Louis XIV, to be his own Prime Minister; and it is clear that he wished Bismarck to resign. The Chancellor was too overshadowing a figure to have standing by his side, either in character of Prime Minister or in any other official character. "The word 'experience' on my lips [very frequently, indeed!] would irritate him, and occasionally evoke the remark, 'Experience? Yes, of course, I haven't any.'" As Napoleon, according to Talleyrand, treated civilization as his personal enemy, so this raw young egoist of a Kaiser felt himself perpetually affronted by the presence of a subordinate who was experience personified. What he wished from the first was that Bismarck should make some graceful excuse for resigning. Bismarck was doubtless aware of this, but he clung to power; in spite of his protestations to the contrary, he wished to hang on, and it is quite possible that he was under the illusion that the Kaiser would not venture to dismiss him. The substance of the whole affair was communicated at the time by the Kaiser to Prince Hohenlohe in a conversation which the latter summarizes in his "Memoirs"; the real question, the Kaiser said, was whether Germany was to be ruled by the House of Hohenzollern or by the House of Bismarck.

CARL BECKER

A Pyramid of Errors

Old Europe's Suicide. By Brigadier-General C. B. Thomson. London: The National Labour Press.

THE writer of this book was a General Staff officer at the British War Office from 1911 to 1914; attached to General Headquarters in France from 1914 to 1915; military attaché in the Balkans from 1915 to 1917; and attached as a British military representative to the Supreme War Council at Versailles, 1918 to 1919. He was therefore "a witness of all that he relates," and his aim in recording his experiences is to learn guidance for the future from the errors of the past. These errors he likens to "a pyramid, rising from a broad base of primitive emotions, passing through narrowing stages of artifice and intrigue, and culminating in a point on which nothing can be built. Seven years of wasteful, mad destruction may fitly be symbolized by a pyramid, a gloomy monument, taking up space, containing much material, useless save as a habitation for the dead." General Thomson has achieved a far more interesting book than are most war records, for beyond being a soldier and a keen observer he is a consummate artist. He has remembered that we are all children as far as liking to have things graphically told and pictured, and so has interpolated through his book verbal sketches of Balkan life of great beauty, which glow with color, atmosphere, and personality. In the new era where world affairs are all of moment to all of us in all parts, we need wide knowledge, and we need it as it is here given, the facts in their authentic settings, focused in their right environment.

General Thomson's survey begins with the Balkan war of 1912. In the course of the campaigns of that year and of 1913 we come to know the all-important diplomats of the larger Powers, playing chess with states as pawns; the high authorities; the patriots and the peasants of the neighboring countries, with their age-long feuds; and the lie of the land across the whole peninsula. His description of the battle of Kumanovo is especially memorable and should become a classic, not only for its artistry but for its penetrating analysis of the motivation back of primitive men in action. He bears out the idea, coming to be more and more generally recognized, that the issues leading to the Balkan wars were looked at by western diplomacy too much from the view of the Balkan states without sufficient regard to the deeper antagonism lying beneath them, the Russo-Austrian antagonism, out of which primarily grew the war of 1914. He insists, as do most other Balkan authorities, on the utter lack of a British policy in the Near East, both before and during the Great War, and attributes this lack to ignorance in official circles in London. This theory ignores the fact that Great Britain was tied, and tied "in the dark," which may have hampered her actions more than has yet transpired. No complete picture can be obtained in any case till all the facts are known. General Thomson has some new fragments of evidence to contribute, and as the bits of the puzzle piece slowly together, though the share of the Central Empires grows no less, that covered by Russian imperialistic diplomacy looms steadily larger and blacker. Though unflinching in his denunciations of the devious ways of all governments, General Thomson deals somewhat too leniently with his own, in ignoring actions of the British Foreign Office, as worthy of condemnation as those of other governments which he details and condemns without mercy. After all, if we expect more of our own nations, as is customary, we cannot afford to lower the standards by which we adjudge their weakness or misdeeds.

The story of the dragging of Rumania into the war and its disastrous consequences makes sordid and tragic reading. After a Russian ultimatum (indorsed by the rest of the Allies) that was a "statement, a taunt, and a threat," and promises of military assistance, Russia failed to cooperate with her small neighbor's offensive, though flooding her land with troops who remained inactive and drained the land of its resources. The little country "lay crushed and broken, the victim of two invasions: one, by the enemy in the south; the other, by Russians in the north." Imperial Russia's secret desire that Rumania should be crushed is fully evidenced in this record, which bears out M. Bogitshevich's contention that Russia wished neither a strong Rumania nor a strong Bulgaria left after the war to block her way to Constantinople. The Russian revolution intervened, but could not save Rumania from irretrievable disaster and widespread ruin. General Thomson does not touch on the subsequent behavior of Rumanian troops in Hungary, since he tells only of things of which he was an eyewitness, but he makes clear the bitterness in which the Rumanian soldiery (whose heroism he greatly praises) were schooled to do such deeds.

Thus with wrong upon wrong General Thomson builds up his pyramid of errors, of which the false peace forms the apex. Scathingly he vivisects the Versailles Conference, likening the spirit which prevailed there to the reassertion of the jungle law, and the framers of the treaties to the carrion crows so vividly depicted bickering over their horrible work after the battle of Kumanovo. But dark as is the present reality, there yet seems hope of better things when a soldier of such wide experience writes as follows: "War, it is claimed, discovers many virtues. It does not create them, but it does provide an opportunity for their exploitation by men who do not fight on battlefields. To these latter, war is Jack Horner's pie; they pull out all the plums complacently, and sit in safe but not secluded corners, clinging like limpets to official rank . . . While such men retain their present influence, the peoples must prepare for war. No League of Nations will control them; they will control the League." Or as again: "Wrongs unredressed resemble pent-up waters, which seek an outlet, useful or wasteful as the case may be, and finding none, in time they sweep away the stoutest dam, causing widespread destruction by their dissipated force."

General Thomson closes as he begins with an appeal to English-speaking peoples to take their rightful place in the van of the mighty world movement that is seeking for a wider, freer life. It is a bugle call, and as such is already rather out of date. For all nations have much to learn, each from the

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other, and only as they recognize this can they successfully cooperate. The naive spirit which assumes a natural right of leadership and arrogates to itself the vanguard without inquiring as to the justice of such assumption, may be as much of a stumbling block to progress in one part of the world as another, as inimical to peace whether it arises from Germanic military pride or Anglo-Saxon democratic conceit. Wisdom lies beyond such foibles of race prejudice. It is perhaps more easily arrived at through defeat than victory.

B. U. BURKE

E. D. Morel

E. D. Morel: The Man and His Work. By F. Seymour Cocks. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.

HERE is one of those romances difficult to realize until one finds oneself face to face with it. Georges Edmond Morel-de-Ville, whom we know as E. D. Morel, was born in Paris, of English-French ancestry, in 1873. From the beginning he had to fight the good fight: poverty and a limited education which sent him into a banking house at the age of sixteen on a salary of three hundred dollars a year. But the commercial clerkship brought him into connection with African trade, and he came to know with Sir Thomas Browne: "There is all Africa and her prodigies in us." As Mr. Morel writes: "The office I was employed in was the center of West African interests in Liverpool —indeed in England; and West Africa, I was not long in apprehending, seemed likely to occupy a great deal of public attention. There was something very huge and mysterious about the whole subject which exercised an increasing fascination over my mind. Liverpool was full of West African traditions—mostly evil ones. It had been Bristol's rival in the slave trade. The office was always full of black men—stokers and others—coming up for their pay: anglicized native merchants, very wealthy some of them; occasionally a striking figure in handsome flowing native garments. To watch a steamer unload her endless barrels of palm-oil, bags of kernels, bags and casks of rubber, elephant tusks, huge mahogany logs, and so on, always sent a thrill of excitement down my back. Everything that came from West Africa seemed impregnated with a wonderful pungent smell."

Thus Mr. Morel came to know Africa and as early as 1893 began that series of writings which have made him known everywhere. But he soon became more than a clerk and a journalist, and his mastery of two modern languages and his commercial training revealed to him the condition of the Belgian Congo. He noted that the imports were vastly greater than the exports and that ammunition and rifles were being poured into the country, while the shares nominally worth one hundred dollars were selling for five thousand dollars. His vigorous articles in the *Speaker* in 1900 brought him face to face with real life, because he not only aroused the world, but lost the clerkship which was his bread and butter. He went to work. He took a little house at Hawarden, founded the *African Mail*, and began a campaign of articles and books which by 1909 had compelled Leopold to give up the Congo and Belgium to begin the institution of reforms. By 1910 Mr. Morel was a famous man, praised by the world. He was feted and dined, compared to Wilberforce, and looked upon as a successful Englishman.

His program, as far as it went, was a very excellent proposal of saving the land for the native, giving him a chance to work as a free man, and basing trade upon the products of free labor raised on native land. Mr. Morel's ideas began to take root, but, earlier than most people, he saw in the European political situation clouds which threatened to ruin both Europe and Africa. With his intimate knowledge of French, English, and continental politics, together with African economics, he saw that in Africa lay the roots of war. He made a desperate effort to fight against that war. He attacked secret diplomacy as early as 1898; he pointed out in 1912, after the Morocco crisis, how Morocco and Africa could lead to trouble. He criticized Lloyd George and his war speech of 1911 and he tried to plan for economic adjustment and understanding between England, France, and Germany. He failed. Just when he was running for Parliament on the platform which he had laid down, war burst on the world. Immediately he resigned his candidature. "I cannot play the hypocrite among you," he said, and, joining the group which was known as the Union of Democratic Control, he became a part of the English pacifist movement.

No one knows how to punish a man who goes against the prevailing current of public opinion better than England, and she proceeded to punish Mr. Morel. She not only frowned upon him and refused his writings publicity—this biography is almost unmentioned in England—but she even went so far as to put him in jail for six months because, unconscious of wrong, he sought to send a pamphlet to Romain Rolland! Rolland wrote of this "most miserable political prosecution": "I maintain that a man like Mr. E. D. Morel is a great citizen, even when, or rather I should say especially when, he points out to his country the errors which she seems to him to be committing. It is those who would throw a veil over those errors who are the faithless servants, whether they are incapable of understanding the facts or are mere flatterers and sycophants. Every man of courage, every man of veracity, honors his country by the mere fact of his courage and of his veracity."

The present volume is well written and interesting and only errs, perhaps, in being a shade too explanatory and apologetic.

W. E. B. DU BOIS

Rebels

The House in Dormer Forest. By Mrs. Mary Webb. George H. Doran Company.

The Happy Highways. By Storm Jameson. The Century Company.

THE fiction of revolt, the normal fiction of youth in any vital period, is more drenched with intelligence in England than in America and more sharp and lyrical in the cry of personal experience that rises from it. The corresponding American novel is drier, more accurate, less impassioned. "Main Street," "Poor White," "Miss Lulu Bett," "Zell," "Dust," and even "The Narrow House" are almost scientific in temper, cool and detached, at most a little bitter and disillusioned. "The House in Dormer Forest" and "The Happy Highways" are deeply agitated books, books not so much deliberately written as poured out under the sway of some great urgency. It is our own writers who seem by contrast elderly and chill, precise, and unwilling to go too far. Yet it is only when prudence is wholly conquered that the last truth is released, and to conquer prudence it is necessary to have suffered. Have the younger American novelists not suffered enough? The question is far from being an idle one. There is no doubt, at least, of the source from which comes Mrs. Webb's knowledge of the "herd panic which drives man to be more cruel to his brother than are the wild beasts," or of this deeper, rarer, incomparably important truth: "The more a soul conforms to the sanity of others, the more does it become insane. By continually doing violence to its own laws, it finally loses the power of governing itself." Miss Storm Jameson is less subtle and more downright: "I believe that if the social code will not stretch to the new ideals of personal freedom it will have to be broken and remade. . . . Half of its prejudices do not fit the facts of modern life." Yet these final words contain the essentials of the whole new way of thinking: life is not to adapt itself to morals but morals to life.

The passionate preoccupations of these novelists which give their books such cleaving insight and such lyrical energy militate against the stories as such. The comparable American stories, just because they are calmer and less poetical in spirit, are far more faithful to fact and circumstance. They do not kindle us as quickly but they succeed in telling us far more. Both Mrs. Webb and Miss Jameson are betrayed into a melo-

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dramatic vision of the things and the people they hate and, on the other hand, into seeing radiance and victory too easy and extreme. Thus in "The House in Dormer Forest" Mrs. Darke and Solomon Darke, Mrs. Velindre and Sarah are clearly Dickensian grotesques. Amber and Michael, on the contrary, are too abstractly right and beautiful in spirit for human nature's daily food, and their forest bridal is as purely romantic a bit of idealism as any in Chateaubriand. Far more truly seen are the characters of the middle plane—Peter Darke and Ruby, the girl Marigold, and the priceless curate. Notably fine, moreover, are Mrs. Webb's creation of the whispering, relentless old house and of the freedom of the magical forest. But these symbolizations are, of course, also romantic, and for all the talent and passion and beauty of the book one wishes that Mrs. Webb had been able to see by a drier light and with a quieter eye the people and events that illustrate the important truths she has experienced and grasped.

Miss Jameson's book is very full and rich. She gives us, as Henry James once said, a great deal of life for our money. Her method is that of Wells—the attempt to sum up the spiritual adventures of an entire period as seen through the temperament of a protagonist who is the heightened embodiment of some part of the author's self. There is something quite brilliant and torrential about her work; there are splashes of hot picturesqueness as in the adventures of Michael Hearne; there are sudden visions of people—such as the sultry and yet shabby Olive and her mother—that cling to the mind; there is a great rushing and crowding of intellectual perceptions of the most precious sort. Yet the whole book is chaotic, essentially aimless both as art and thought, and often animated by a kind of passionate irritation. For all that, there is a broken and almost tragic splendor about these young men and women who clubbed together in London in the years immediately preceding the war, who tried to live so purely and personally, to will so creatively and spontaneously, and to burn away all the dross of a stupid and cruel order by the sheer fire of their minds. One wonders how many such there actually were in England in those years. To credit Miss Jameson's account is to gain an even deeper sense of the waste and destruction of the war, which left Joy Hearne blind and merely retrospective and killed the marvelous Kersent in a conscientious objector's prison. For, amorphous and unequal as Miss Jameson's book is, she conveys a strong conviction that these young men whom she describes and this Margaret Douglass had succeeded in establishing a living contact with the realities both of their own natures and of the world, that they were really prepared to nurse no delusions and to sophisticate no truths and to work toward the establishment of a better order. Now that land of before the war is, as Miss Jameson tells us through her quotation of Housman's exquisite verses, a "land of lost content." But we must try to reach it and all its "happy highways" once more. Her book, despite its imitative and confused character as a piece of writing, has something of a clarion quality in its mood and tone which may summon those who are now young and impassioned toward the vision of a more rational world.

Books in Brief

THE enormous veneration for Aristotle throughout the Middle Ages led not only to the study and canonization of his works but to the attribution to him of various apocrypha. A very early, indeed a Greek, legend told that he had distilled the quintessence of his esoteric wisdom into a work for the private reading of his pupil Alexander the Great, and, as is so often the case, the demand for this work created the supply. Somewhere between the seventh and ninth centuries was composed, by a Persian or Syrian sage, a book published under Aristotle's name as the "Secretum Secretorum," now edited by Robert Steele, in "Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi," Fasc. V (Oxford). The earliest known form of this work is an Arabic manuscript with a preface stating that Aristotle is reckoned by some learned men among the prophets, and that God was reported to have made a revelation to him, saying, "Verily, I prefer to call thee an angel rather than a man." The work soon found its way into Latin and thence into Norman French. In Latin form it was edited with notes and explanations by Roger Bacon, and it confirmed his belief in astrology, for he never doubted its genuineness. The matter of the treatise is a strange mixture of quaint superstition and sound practical advice, about as remote from Aristotle's mind as the north is from the south. The advice is partly as to health, telling just what to eat, when to sleep, when to love, and not forgetting an injunction to brush the teeth regularly with a stick made of bitter, astringent wood. With true Oriental ingenuity man is described as "brave as a lion, timid as a hare, generous as a cock, avaricious as a dog, licentious as a crow, wild as a leopard, sociable as a pigeon, sly as a fox, tame as a sheep, swift as a deer, slow as a bear, proud as an elephant, humble as a donkey, thievish as a magpie, vain as a peacock, clever as a partridge, stupid as an ostrich, fugitive as a ram, importunate as an ox, refractory as a mule, mute as a fish, talkative as an owl, useful as a horse, harmful as a rat." But the best doctrine, still needed by our age, is that given in reply to Alexander's question as to how to treat his enemies: "If you are bent upon killing all of them, and are able to do so by reason of your power over them, you cannot change their climate and their country. Therefore conquer them by kindness and benevolence, and so obtain their love."

PROBABLY the most difficult poem in the world to translate well is the "Agamemnon" of Aeschylus, which Gilbert Murray now adds to his list of Greek plays in English rhyming verse (Oxford). In a charming, perhaps too charming, preface, and in a dozen pages of fascinating notes Mr. Murray's mind plays over the philosophical and verbal problems of the tragedy as almost no other mind today knows how to play, but the tragedy itself he is sometimes unable to render into anything like English music. The earlier choruses, so steep and obscure, he has been only a trifle more successful with than his predecessors were. Where he is best, as was to be expected, is in the longer speeches of Clytemnestra and Cassandra, which give his muse the swing that she requires. And here he is steadily splendid, although on occasion too smooth. The future of Greek translation lies as far as the width of the world from Swinburne.

Notable New Books

The Connecticut Wits and Other Essays. By Henry A. Beers. Yale.

Graceful, spirited little disquisitions on a variety of topics in English and American literature.

Milton's Prosody. By Robert Bridges. Oxford.

A revised edition of one of the most stimulating and interesting treatises on prosody in the language.

Later Essays: 1917-1920. By Austin Dobson. Oxford.

Seven essays of dainty erudition, all concerned with those nooks of the eighteenth century in England which Mr. Dobson has made particularly his own, and all recalling his apologia published in the third series of "Eighteenth Century Vignettes":

> I don't pretend to paint the vast
> And complex picture of the Past: . . .
> For detail, detail, most I care
> (Ce superflu, si nécessaire) . . .
> I cultivate a private bent
> For episode, for incident: . . .
> As much, in short, as one may hope
> To cover with a microscope. . . .
> My aim
> Is modest. This is all I claim:
> To paint a part and not the whole,
> The trappings rather than the soul.

San Cristóbal de la Habana. By Joseph Hergesheimer. Knopf.

The subtle and beautiful account of a visit recently made to Havana by Mr. Hergesheimer, who not only has evoked the spirit of the place with a felicity which should make his book a classic but has taken this occasion to reveal far more concerning his aims and methods in fiction than has heretofore been revealed. From "San Cristóbal" is derived the bulk of the quotations which will be found in the article on Mr. Hergesheimer published elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation.*

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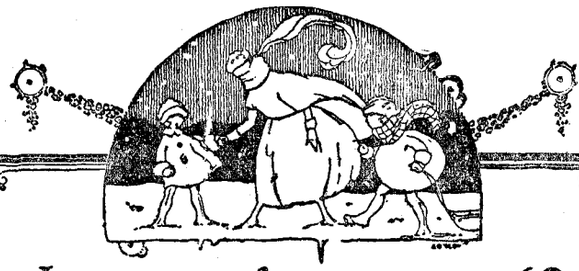

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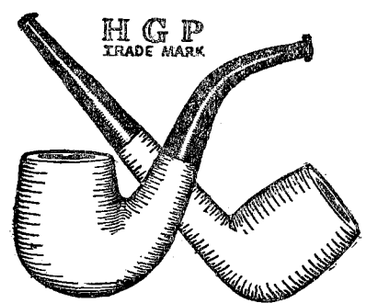

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Our Southern Highlanders. By Horace Kephart. Macmillan.

A reissue of an unusually satisfactory, plain account of the inhabitants of the Southern Appalachians.

Creole Families of New Orleans. By Grace King. Macmillan.

Genealogical studies made with considerable research and recorded with genuine charm.

American English. By Gilbert M. Tucker. Knopf.

Chiefly made up of three useful glossaries of Exotic Americanisms, Some Real Americanisms, and Misunderstood Americanisms, with a not very scientific defense of American usage against the common British accusations, and a bibliography which omits the rare and strangely neglected monograph "A Collection of College Words and Customs" (1851, 1856), by B. H. Hall.

Pro Patria.—Studies in Tennyson. By Henry van Dyke. Scribner.

Vols. xi and xii of the handsome Avalon Edition of Mr. van Dyke's collected works. "Pro Patria" is made up of "The Spirit of America" (1910) and "Fighting for Peace" (1917).

Drama

Last Flights

WHEN gossip in the theater lobbies begins to turn to the coming of the "Follies" it is clear that the end of the season is in sight. Now only musical comedies multiply, the successes of the earlier months fold their "sets," and vague rumors circulate of what will happen in the fall. Behind the scenes the activity of the land of the theater is, indeed, quite tireless and with its bits of color and vivid little ardors continues to break agreeably the chill and grimy monotony of a not very cheerful world. For even when, on their lowest plane, these theatrical preoccupations are in themselves not more than harmless, they still serve to humanize people by withdrawing their attention from greed, from moral and physical violence, from forms of competition that end more disastrously than in a short run or an ill-natured review.

A survey of the final offerings of the season must, no doubt, include some notice of Mr. Walter Hampden's performances at the Broadhurst Theater. It is to be said for Mr. Hampden that he plays the Shakespearean dramas through exactly as they were written, thus restoring to the stage their full text and, perhaps, the tempo in which they may be supposed to have been originally acted. As to the merits of his own interpretations opinions differ very widely. Good authorities have compared him seriously to the great actors of a bygone day. There is no way of confuting, of even touching, such judgments. To us Mr. Hampden seems, for all his culture, zeal, and advantages of person, constantly prosaic, primarily because he is always the actor in the act of treading the boards. He declaims and gestures. And, perhaps, he does these things in a manner that recalls the giants who were before the flood. Perhaps he does them in a style that was once and ought still to be approved. The fact remains that he has nothing for our hearts, not even for our nerves. He has neither music nor magic. He is eloquent—like the periods of an old-fashioned oration; he is sonorous—like an offertory. He wants a credible passion and an inner fire. His revival of Charles Rann Kennedy's "The Servant in the House" serves to reveal his taste and define his talent. The play is hopelessly starched and homiletic and histrionic. No agreement with its thesis can hide its metallic tone, its creaking symbolism, its constant air of having been unctuously contrived for purposes of edification. Mr. Hampden stands at its center, enormously content with it and the oracular part it offers him. But no oracle ever had less mystery. It is ecclesiastical rather than divine and we know perfectly that the Stranger will never let his excellent intentions carry him too far. He has a talent for reform, none for being cast out or crucified.

Isolated performances and productions call for a word. A Russian actress, Mme. Asta Suvorina, illustrated a rather wilted technique through material made in Paris many years ago, but gave one a second glimpse of Vadim Ureneff, whose strange, rich, poignant talent our stage should not leave unused. The following week brought "The 47 Workshop" to the Morosco Theater in three one-act plays written, staged, and acted by students of Professor George P. Baker. The bill was properly varied—a serious drama of humble life, a farce, a miniature Renaissance tragedy of blood. The plays were made after good old models and not made without skill. They showed no trace of original impulse, experience, or vision. Immediately thereafter a little group of Irish players—now, alas, dispersed—revived John Millington Synge's "The Playboy of the Western World" and gave one an opportunity to hear once more what is surely the most magnificent dramatic speech, as mere speech, in modern English—homely as peat, real as earth or sea water, capable of a passion and an imaginative energy to set the soul on fire.

There remain the two last productions, given in rapid succession, of the Neighborhood Playhouse. This organization has ripened steadily during the present season and has done one genuinely beautiful thing after another. On the theatro-technical side (an ugly but necessary word) it now belongs to the two or three American stages that have national importance. It has offered some opportunities to the emotional force and tang and masterly technique of Whitford Kane and to the quaint clarity and intelligence of Deidre Doyle; it has cultivated new talent, such as the admirable dancer Albert Carrol, and given a first chance to others, such as the Spanish composer Gustavo Morales and, last of all, the remarkably promising and charming Joanna Loos, a young pupil of Yvette Guilbert. The art of the theater, then, has found real benefactors in the Misses Alice and Irene Lewisohn and their associates. The art of the drama, however, has not been quite as well served at the Neighborhood Playhouse. The directors have practically confined their choice of plays to the works of one group of writers in a single literature. It is a group of notable writers and belongs to a very great literature. But individual plays by these writers have often been trivial in theme and feeble in execution. We happen to have a much higher opinion of Mr. Granville Barker's earlier plays, "The Madras House" and especially "Waste," than is commonly entertained. But surely the awkward fancy and falsely romantic cheeriness of his "Harliquinade" scarcely deserved the real wealth of talent, of decorative beauty, and interpretative intelligence expended on it. These things might have adorned a masterpiece—Andreev's "Anathema," Yeats's "The Shadowy Waters" and "The King's Threshold," Hauptmann's "The Sunken Bell." This criticism does not, of course, apply to the delightful pantomime-ballets so admirably cultivated from the point of view of both the dancers and the public, nor has it any purpose but that of strengthening and enriching the future activities of the Neighborhood Playhouse.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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Two Sections
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The Nation

International Relations
Section

Vol. CXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1921 No. 2916

MEMOIR*

On the Political, Economic, and Financial Conditions Existing in the Republic of Haiti under the American Occupation by the Delegates to the United States of the Union Patriotique d'Haïti

I

BEFORE MILITARY INTERVENTION

THE fact that Mr. Wilson's Government, in its military intervention in Haïti, acted under the influence of certain big financial interests will be shown in the following account.

The National Bank of Haiti, founded in 1881 with French capital and intrusted from the start with the administration of the Haitian Treasury, disappeared in 1910 and was replaced by a financial institution known as the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti.

Like the old one the new bank was intrusted, under certain conditions and for the duration of its contract, with the administration of the Treasury of the Haitian Government. But a part of the capital stock had been subscribed by the National City Bank of New York, which became for the first time interested in the financial affairs of Haiti.

It was from this time on that financial control of Haiti began to be talked of, and the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti immediately adopted a new attitude with regard to the Haitian Government, never ceasing to create difficulties for it.

On June 21, 1914, President Oreste Zamor left Port-au-Prince to check a revolutionary movement which had broken out in the North province. During his absence the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti, giving as a pretext the moratorium decreed in France, the diminution of receipts as a result of the European war, and the insurrection in the North, stopped the execution of a budget convention between it and the Haitian Government, which was drawn up with the object of assuring, until September 30, 1914, the monthly and regular payment of public expenses. In order to live up to its obligations, the Government had to submit to the demands of the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti. It authorized the latter to dispose of an amount of $200,000 drawn from the funds applied to the redemption of paper money, and under this condition the bank resumed the regular administration.

Because of increasing difficulties with the bank, and lack of effective means for checking the revolutionary movement, President Oreste Zamor had to abandon the struggle. He refused the offer that was made to him of help from the United States to keep himself in power, not wishing to compromise the independence of the country, and resigned on October 29, 1914.

Meanwhile an active propaganda was being carried on, spreading the rumor that the President had agreed to sign a treaty with the United States. This rumor persisting, on October 26 Senator Lhérisson demanded an explanation on this subject from the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, at the Senate tribune. The latter denied the existence of any negotiations with the United States, and the Senate unanimously passed the following resolution, which fully expressed the sentiment of the country:

The Senate, after hearing the denial of the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the existence of negotiations between the national Administration and the Government of the United States, declares its satisfaction with his explanations, condemns any kind of a treaty, and passes the order of the day.

On November 7, 1914, Senator Davilmar Theodore was elected President of the Republic in place of Oreste Zamor. From the very start he was confronted by the same difficulties with the bank. Moreover, the United States Government made as a condition for the recognition of the new Administration of Haiti the sending of a Commission to Washington, for the purpose of signing "satisfactory protocols" relating to various questions, notably a convention for the control of the Haitian custom houses with the United States, modeled after the Dominican-American Convention.

On November 27 Senator Lhérisson asked to interpellate the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs with regard to negotiations said to have been agreed upon between the Governments of Haiti and the United States. On December 3, through explanations presented to the Senate tribune by Monsieur J. Justin, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, it was learned that Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Port-au-Prince, had made proposals to the Haitian Government relative to a convention for the control of the Haitian custom houses. M. Justin was hooted by the audience, and even threatened, so strong was the national sentiment against anything which might interfere with the independence and sovereignty of the country.

On December 10, 1914, Hon. A. Bailly-Blanchard, American Minister, had presented to the Haitian Government a project for a convention in ten articles.[1] The United States asked in this project for the control of the administration of the Haitian custom houses, and asked the Haitian Government to agree not to modify the custom duties in such a way as to reduce the revenues, etc., without the consent of the President of the United States.

The Haitian Government, considering that the signature of such a convention would have the effect of placing the country under a protectorate, and dreading the discontent of a people particularly jealous of its independence, notified Mr. Bailly-Blanchard on December 15 of its regret that it could not accept the agreement, in spite of its friendly sentiments for the United States. On the 19th the American Minister replied that his Government would not insist upon the question of the treaty.

Two days previous to this communication from Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, in order to force the Haitian Government to accept the control of the custom houses by systematically depriving it of financial resources, American marines carried off the strong-boxes of the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti in broad daylight and took on board the gun-boat Machias a sum of $500,000 belonging to the

[1] See Appendix No. 1.

*This Memoir was presented to the Department of State and to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 9.

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Republic of Haiti and destined to be used for the redemption of paper money. In his notes of December 19 and 26, the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs asked in vain for explanations from the United States Legation regarding this military kidnapping of the funds of the Haitian Treasury. This amount is still in the United States, where it was transported and deposited in a New York bank.

In March, 1915, similar measures for procuring control of the Haitian customs began again. This time an American commission landed at Port-au-Prince, composed of Messrs. Ford and Smith. M. Vilbrun Guillaume Sam had just been elected President of the Republic by the National Assembly. On March 15 the Commission got in touch with M. Duvivier, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs. After the usual compliments Mr. Ford, president of the Commission, began to communicate to M. Duvivier the object of his mission. It soon appeared to the Haitian Minister that the Commission had no full powers to negotiate. Mr. Ford readily admitted this; he declared, however, that he was the personal friend of President Wilson and seemed to indicate that he was authorized to speak in the name of the President of the United States. M. Duvivier having shown him the objection to receiving communications from agents without due authorization, the negotiations were broken off and the Commission returned to the United States.

Scarcely two months later, during the first two weeks of May, 1915, Mr. Paul Fuller, Jr., arrived at Port-au-Prince with the official title of Special Agent of the United States and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Government of Haiti. He was received on the 21st by the President of the Republic, to whom he explained the object of his mission. Mr. Fuller was heard with all the attention to which his official standing and the Government that he represented entitled him. He was asked to submit his proposals to the Haitian Government in writing. On the following day, the 22nd, he addressed to the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs a project of a treaty in four articles.[2] The preamble of the project contained the following statements:

Whereas it is the mutual desire of the High Contracting Parties that there shall exist between an American Minister Plenipotentiary—hereafter to be appointed—and the President of Haiti such an intimate and confidential relationship as will enable the American Minister Plenipotentiary to advise as to such matters as affect the honest and efficient administration of the Government, the President of Haiti agreeing that he will follow the advice so given to the extent of requiring honesty and efficiency in officials and of removing those found to be dishonest and inefficient;

The President of the United States and the President of the Republic of Haiti have resolved to enter into a convention for that purpose.

By the terms of the project presented by Mr. Paul Fuller, Jr., the United States agrees to protect the Republic of Haiti against any attack by any foreign Power, using for this purpose its military and naval forces. The United States also agrees to aid the Haitian Government to put down any internal troubles, and to give it effective support by the use of American military and naval forces within the necessary limits. Moreover, the President of Haiti must agree not to grant any rights, privileges, or facilities of any kind with regard to St. Nicholas Môle—not to concede, sell, rent, or otherwise give up, directly or indirectly through the Government of Haiti, the occupation or use of St. Nicholas Môle to any foreign government or to any national or nationals of a foreign government.

This project was examined in the most friendly way, and on June 2 the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, M. Duvivier, presented a counter-project to the American Envoy as a basis of negotiations. Regarding the question of St. Nicholas Môle, the Haitian Government accepted unreservedly the draft proposed by Mr. Paul Fuller. On the other hand he asked that the first article of the project should read as follows:

The Government of the United States agrees to lend its aid to the Republic of Haiti for the conservation of its independence. With this object, it promises to intervene in order to prevent any intrusion by any foreign Power in the affairs of Haiti, and to repulse any act of aggression against the country. It will use for this purpose such forces of its army and of its navy as are necessary.

The Haitian counter-project also admitted the principle of a cooperation of American forces to check internal troubles, but stipulated that these forces, after cooperating with the Haitian troops in the reestablishment of order, should be promptly withdrawn from the territory of the Republic on demand of the constitutional authorities.

The Haitian Government asked, moreover, that the United States Government should promise to favor the entrance of American capital into the country, and to aid in the improvement of Haitian finances, in such a way as to bring about the unification of the public debt and an effective monetary reform.[3]

On June 3, in acknowledging the receipt of the counter-project of the 2nd to the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Paul Fuller proposed, in turn, certain modifications of the Haitian text. In a note dated the 4th, the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs notified the American Envoy of the acceptance of some of the modifications proposed and the rejection of others. On the 5th, Mr. Paul Fuller acknowledged the receipt of this note without expressing any opinion on its contents.

The discussion had reached this point when it was learned that the American Envoy had suddenly left for the United States. The negotiations were not resumed.

II

LANDING OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN HAITI

Treaty of September 16, 1915

On July 27, 1915, an attack was directed during the night against the President's palace by a revolutionary group—a group which militantly represented amid other antagonisms the overwhelming sentiment against any policies which tended or seemed to tend to the compromising of Haitian independence. On the next day President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam, wounded in the struggle, abandoned the palace and took refuge in the Legation of the French Republic.

On the morning of the same day, the rumor spread through the town that some political prisoners had been summarily executed in the prisons of Port-au-Prince during the attack on the national palace. This terrible and deplorable news was only too true. A great cry of grief arose from all classes of the people and soon changed into indignation and anger. Agitation was increasing. On July 28, the relatives of the victims, mostly young people,

[2] See Appendix No. 2.

[3] See Appendix No. 3.

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carried away by grief, invaded the French Legation, seized the ex-President, who was thrown into the street and killed. At the time when these confused scenes occurred, there was for the moment no government, nor any kind of an organization capable of preventing them. Yet there was no burning or robbing, and no one except the ex-President and the ex-Governor of Port-au-Prince, who were held responsible for the execution of the political prisoners, met death through this tragic incident.

After this act of reprisal, quiet was promptly restored, and a Committee of Public Safety assumed responsibility for order.

Meanwhile, on July 28, the American cruiser George Washington, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral W. B. Caperton, anchored in the harbor of Port-au-Prince. No notice was taken of it, because it was generally believed that the presence of this vessel had no other object than that of protecting foreign interests if necessary, since Europe was at that time plunged in war.

On July 29, the population awoke to learn that the territory of Haiti was invaded by American forces that had landed at the extreme south of the city the night before. Hundreds and soon thousands of American marines occupied the town and disarmed the surprised Haitians, who were completely bowled over by the terrible events of the last two days—and so the American forces did not meet with any resistance from the population. Two weeks passed, during which the landed forces succeeded in getting control of Port-au-Prince and its immediate vicinity. Meanwhile other American troops had occupied the city of Cap Haitien, in the northern part of the country. On August 12, 1915, after numerous conferences between leading members of the Haitian Chamber and Senate with the American naval authorities, at the United States Legation and elsewhere, a Presidential election was held by permission of the Occupation, and M. Dartiguenave, president of the Senate, was elected, the majority of the members of the two houses agreeing to support him. It was made clear that the choice of M. Dartiguenave was essentially agreeable to the American Occupation. He was therefore elected for a term of seven years in accordance with the Haitian Constitution then in force.

Two days after the establishment of the new government, Mr. Robert Beale Davis, Jr., American Chargé d'Affaires, in the name of his Government, presented to President Dartiguenave a project for a treaty.[4] This project was accompanied by a memorandum, in which the President was informed "that the State Department at Washington expected that the Haitian National Assembly, warranting the sincerity and the interest of the Haitians, would immediately pass a resolution authorizing the President of Haiti to accept the proposed treaty without modification." Since this request indicated a certain ignorance of Haitian constitutional practice, as regards the negotiation of treaties, the Government hastened to call Mr. Davis's attention to the article of the Constitution relating to this subject, and showed him that the President of Haiti did not need special authority of the Chambers to negotiate and sign treaties with a foreign Power.

The American Chargé d'Affaires, after examining the constitutional text, readily acknowledged it and withdrew. Imagine the surprise of the Government on receiving the next day a threatening note signed by the Chargé d'Affaires, insisting that the resolution indicated in the memorandum should be passed by the Haitian Chambers, and setting in the form of an ultimatum a time limit within which that resolution must be passed.

To this demand the Haitian Government replied, through the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, M. Pauléus Sannon, that it was guided by the most friendly disposition and was ready to negotiate a treaty with the United States, but that rather than accept without *modification* the project presented it would prefer to resign as a body.

By the occupation of its territory the Government which had been deprived of even its police power and which had none of the essential attributes of authority, was in reality without independence, without liberty of action. Its existence and its working depended upon the invading American forces, equipped with all modern armaments and now occupying the country.

While the negotiations were being continued laboriously as a result of the determination of the American representative not to accept any modifications in the project of the treaty, Rear-Admiral W. B. Caperton, commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force of the United States, seized the custom houses of Port-de-Paix, Cap, and St. Marc on August 24, driving out the Haitian officials. And in spite of the repeated official protestations of the Government to the American Legation, all the custom houses of the Republic were successively occupied and thus came under the control of the officers of the United States Navy. On September 1, 1915, President Dartiguenave solemnly protested in a proclamation against this long series of violations of law, which had just resulted in the occupation of the custom house of Port-au-Prince. On the 3rd, Rear-Admiral W. B. Caperton issued a proclamation in which he declared that he had assumed control of the Government, and that the town of Port-au-Prince (the seat of the Government) and its vicinity were under martial law.[5]

In face of the impossibility of getting certain modifications of the project accepted, two members of President Dartiguenave's Cabinet, the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs and the State Secretary of Public Works, handed in their resignations on September 8, 1915.

The treaty was signed on the 16th of the same month by M. Louis Borno, the new State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Robert Beale Davis, Jr., American Chargé d'Affaires at Port-au-Prince.

In reality the Government had been, from the beginning to end, oppressed by a series of violent acts. Apart from the occupation of its territory, the custom houses, which were the chief object of the treaty, had been seized *manu militari*, and the funds belonging to the Haitian Treasury and deposited in the National Bank of the Haitian Republic had been transferred to the account of Rear-Admiral W. B. Caperton, by his orders.

The convention, after being ratified by the President of the Republic, was sanctioned by the Chamber of Deputies on October 6, 1915, and by the Senate on November 11, 1915.

Execution of the Treaty

1. *Modus Vivendi of November 29, 1915*

The convention of September 16, 1915, having been negotiated and ratified by the Haitian Government and sanc-

[4] See Appendix No. 4.

[5] See Appendix No. 5.

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tioned by the Haitian Chambers under the conditions and circumstances set forth above, there was some hope that its execution would soon bring about the return to a situation which would naturally be cleared up by the rules of cooperation and collaboration established between the two Governments by this diplomatic instrument, and by the fulfilment of the obligations entered into by the American Government toward the Haitian people. The Haitian Government, after the landing of the American troops, was actually nothing more than a purely nominal government. It had neither the power to enforce its authority, nor finances. The American military authorities had taken possession of the custom houses, had invaded the territory of the nation, and, by the establishment of martial courts, had practically suppressed the Haitian administration of justice. The protests of the Government against these acts of interference in internal politics had remained a dead letter. And it was precisely *"to put an end to these difficulties and to obtain the liberation of the territory that was formally promised"* that it had to "yield."[6] Consequently pending the sanction of the treaty by the American Senate and the exchange of ratifications, the Haitian Government had to accept the arrangement proposed by the American Government itself for the provisional execution of the convention of September 16, 1915.[7] A modus vivendi was signed at Port-au-Prince on November 29, 1915. It stipulated that "the convention signed on September 16, 1915, between the Haitian Republic and the United States, and ratified by the Chamber of Deputies of Haiti on October 6, 1915, and by the Senate of Haiti November 11, 1915, would provisionally go into full effect and would remain in force until the vote of the American Senate was taken regarding the convention, leaving the methods of application of the treaty to be decided at Washington between the Department of State and the Haitian Commission named for the purpose."[8]

At the same time that this Modus Vivendi was signed, it was understood between the two High Contracting Parties that

1. The municipal administrations actually in the hands of the American Occupation should be returned to the Haitian Government after a special agreement for each case.

2. The customs administration should be settled by an understanding between the State Secretary of Finance and the Receiver-General, relative to the elements of control of customs operations to be furnished to the Haitian Government, and its participation in the appointment of employees according to the terms of the convention.[9]

1A. Municipal Administrations

The modus vivendi dealing with this subject was not carried out in any particular. The municipal administrations were not restored to the Haitian authority, in spite of the formal promise which had been made to this effect. As it had been understood that a special agreement would be made for each case, the Haitian Government, in a memorandum dated December 20, 1915, asked the Legation of the United States to begin as soon as possible the restoration of those of Port-au-Prince.[10] This memorandum, in indicating the procedure which it would be convenient to adopt under the circumstances, added:

> This restoration necessarily involves expenses, and the means of meeting them are a necessary part of this restoration. But as these expenses have actually been paid to the American Occupation by Admiral Caperton out of the funds of the public Treasury, their future payment to the Haitian authority would not be a new expense.
>
> Consequently, the Haitian Government considers that in cases where the details of the agreement will bring expense to the Haitian Administration, the means for meeting them will be furnished from the funds of the public Treasury."[11]

On January 3, 1916, Mr. A. Bailly-Blanchard, the American Minister, in referring to his note of November 29, 1915, and to the Haitian memorandum of December 20, 1915, relative to the restoration of the municipal administrations to the Haitian Government, informed M. Louis Borno, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that Rear-Admiral Caperton, U. S. N., commanding the forces of the United States in Haiti and in Haitian waters, had received instructions to suspend action in the affair, for the time being, until the employees provided for in the treaty and the modus vivendi should be named and ready to take office.[12]

Thus, in spite of the modus vivendi of November 29, 1915, *proposed by the Government of the United States* (which provided for the complete execution of the convention of September 16, 1915, pending the vote of the American Senate) the Haitian Government was always confronted by the state of affairs previous to the convention. And the Haitian Government, through the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, stated to the American Minister at Port-au-Prince that "such a situation could not last any longer without creating between the two Governments a very serious equivocation which would not be pleasant for either party."[13]

2A. Customs Officials and Employees

Since the Constitution of the Haitian Republic states clearly that the President of Haiti alone appoints and recalls public officials, Article 2 of the treaty of 1915 could only mean a modification of that Constitution when it states that the agents of control designated by it, namely, the Receiver-General, the Financial Adviser, and the assistants and employees of their offices—offices of collection and offices of payment—may be Americans and subject to nomination by the President of the United States. It was clear therefore that the other officials and employees of the public administration of Haiti, and particularly of the customs administration, must be Haitians, and appointed exclusively by the President of Haiti. This interpretation was self-evident. In addition to the correspondence exchanged at the time of the signing of the modus vivendi of November 29, 1915—(correspondence in which the American Legation determined the following point: "[2] The customs administration will be settled by an understanding between the State Secretary of Finance and the Receiver-General relative to the elements of control of customs operations to be furnished to the Haitian Government, and its participation in the appointment of employees according to the *terms of*

[6] See "Exposé Général de la Situation de la République d'Haïti, année 1917," pp. 5-6.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] See Appendix No. 6.

[9] Correspondence between M. Bailly-Blanchard, American Minister to Port-au-Prince, and M. Louis Borno, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs. See "Exposé Général de la Situation de la République d'Haïti, année 1917," p. 14.

[10] See Appendix No. 7.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] See communication of the American Legation, Report of M. Louis Borno, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to the President of Haiti, vol. 1, pp. 219, 220, 221.

[13] See "Report of M. Louis Borno, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, to the President of Haiti," vol. 1, p. 221.

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the treaty")—the interpretations referred to in the law of sanction for the said treaty, dated November 11, 1915, which had been officially transmitted to the Government at Washington before the sanction of this same treaty by the American Senate and the exchange of ratifications, contain the following explanation with regard to Article 2:

"B. The customs personnel is Haitian, appointed exclusively and directly by the President of Haiti. The 'assistants and employees' designated in Article 2 are assistants of the Receiver; they do not make up the customs personnel. They are assigned to the customs by the Receiver's office and control the customs operations." Moreover, in a communication of September 16, 1915, addressed to Mr. R. B. Davis, Charge d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States of America at Port-au-Prince, the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs, M. Louis Borno, recalled in the following terms the specifications relating to this subject, which he had fixed at a conference held the day before at the Department of Foreign Affairs:

> With the sincere desire of avoiding, from now on, any misunderstanding upon certain important points, I have drawn your attention to the following: " . . . (3) By the words '*collect, receive*, and *apply*' in Article 2, 1st paragraph, etc., the Government understands that what has been fixed by those words is a service of collectorship (collect, receive) and of payment (apply)."[14] The Receiver-General and the assistants and employees to be appointed by the President of Haiti upon the nomination of the President of the United States form a service of collection of all customs duties, a separate department from the customs administration as such, which latter consists in the storing, verification, and taxation of merchandise according to the tariff. Consequently, the *Haitian employees of this customs service will depend upon the exclusive appointment of the President of Haiti.*

Nevertheless, on this point also, the modus vivendi remained a dead letter.

AFTER THE EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS

The formality of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of September 16, 1915, was carried out at Washington, D. C., on May 3, 1916. The regime of military administration established by the American Occupation nearly a year before had now become definitely incompatible with the terms of the convention which established the rights and duties of the High Contracting Parties. The question was, then, to keep the two Governments henceforth within the limits of the rules contained in the convention. In the departments of public administration which were not touched upon by the convention of 1915, it goes without saying that exclusively American action could not rightly be imposed upon the Haitian Government, however disposed it might be to accept a certain cooperation. But the legitimate and judicial claims of the Haitian Government met with no success. When the treaty became a fact, it had no more effect in relieving the situation than the modus vivendi. The municipal administrations still remained in the hands of the American military authorities. In reference to the public works which the Occupation had taken over in the month of June, 1916, without any agreement with the Haitian Government, or even the slightest warning to the Minister concerned, the Haitian Government protested to the American Legation and declared that it declined all responsibility for any expenses against the Haitian State which might be incurred by the Occupation, whether for the public works, or for any other cause not justified by the convention;[15] whereupon a letter on this subject from Colonel Littleton W. T. Waller, addressed to the American Minister, was sent to the Haitian Government from which we quote the following paragraph:

> 3. If, as stated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Treaty has been in operation since May 3, 1916, I know nothing of it; I must receive my information through proper military channels before I can relax the established rules under which we have been operating.[16]

Thus it is clear that the Occupation, up to the end of 1917, carried on all public works, without any control by the Haitian Government over the nature of the works, the manner of carrying them out, their expediency, or even the amount spent on these works.[17] Twice, meanwhile, on January 3, 1916, and July 14, 1916, Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, the American Minister, officially declared that the Occupation would continue to operate the public works only until the officials designated in the treaty should be appointed and ready to exercise their duties. Now, since in the month of September, 1916, Mr. E. G. Oberlin, U. S. N., had been named engineer for the Department of Public Works, he had immediately informed the said department that he was ready to enter completely into the execution of his duties as specified in Article 13 of the treaty of September 16, 1915, and into the Regulations of the Bureau of Engineering.

Mr. Oberlin, after passing several months at the Department of Public Works without being able to accomplish anything, was recalled early in 1917 and replaced immediately by Mr. E. R. Gayler, U. S. N. Nothing had changed, that is to say, the agents of the Occupation had continued to operate the public works without any participation by the Department of Public Works.[18]

And the Haitian Government was justified in drawing the following conclusions in said "Exposé Général de la Situation, etc., 1917," in the chapter on Foreign Relations, and in the section dealing with the difficulties just described: "It can be said, then, that the treaty of September 16 has not been carried out, and that this violation of the engagements entered into is due to the agents of the American Government."[19]

When the first officials of the treaty arrived at Port-au-Prince in July, 1916, and entered upon their duties, the question of appointments to the customs of the Republic which had come up at the signing of the Modus Vivendi and which had not yet been solved promptly arose again.

Mr. Addison T. Ruan, Financial Adviser, and Mr. Maumus, Receiver-General, claimed that these appointments were subject to the nomination of the President of the United States. The Haitian Government maintained that they depended upon the exclusive designation of the President of the Republic of Haiti. In spite of everything, the opinion of Mr. Ruan and Mr. Maumus was indorsed by the Department of State; whence it would have resulted, by adhering to the text which was the object of the controversy,

[14] See Article 5.

[15] See letter of June 28, 1916, Louis Borno, "Report to the President of Haiti," etc., vol. 1, p. 227.

[16] Letter of June 30, 1916, from the Commander of the Expeditionary Force. See Borno, "Report to the President of Haiti," etc., vol. 1, p. 231.

[17] See "Exposé Général de la Situation de la République d'Haïti, année 1917," p. 90.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91, and 92.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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that the most insignificant employee in any custom house in Haiti whatsoever must be nominated by the President of the United States and appointed by the President of Haiti. "In fact," said the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Haiti in a communication of March 26, 1916, to Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, American Minister at Port-au-Prince, "neither has the President of the United States ever presented such proposals, nor has the President of Haiti until now been responsible for the appointment of any of the Haitians actually employed in the customs administration or in the office of the Receiver-General. These citizens have been appointed in these two administrations by the Military Occupation, without any participation by the President of Haiti." And on this occasion the State Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Haiti drew the attention of the United States Legation to a most serious and unjust act, namely, the introduction into Haitian public administrations by the American Occupation of various persons of foreign nationality other than American, much to the prejudice of our compatriots.

The point of view of the State Department on this question of appointment of Haitian officials in the custom houses of the Republic was accepted only under the express reserve of recourse to arbitration by virtue of the arbitration treaty between Haiti and the United States of January 7, 1909.[20]

Far from stopping at these encroachments which already constituted so many violations of the treaty, far from consenting to the restoration of the municipal administrations just mentioned, the constant and wilful tendency of the American military authorities in Haiti has been, on the contrary, to extend more and more the powers, either of the gendarmerie or the Occupation itself, which was by the terms of the treaty purely temporary and provisional, adding to them by assigning still other public functions. The serious difficulties created at Port-au-Prince with regard to the postal and telegraph administrations show clearly the nature of the procedure adopted to set the treaty aside and to absorb in the most unjustifiable manner what was left of the National Administration.

On February 8, 1916, the State Department and the Haitian Commission sent to Washington in December, 1915, at the proposal of the United States Government, had settled the terms of an agreement relative to the gendarmerie of Haiti. The signing of this agreement had been postponed at the request of the American State Department, until the sanction of the treaty by the American Senate and the Congressional vote of a special act to permit United States officers to serve in the Haitian Administration. When this sanction had been given and the special act had been voted, the State Department, instead of signing the agreement that had been drawn up and decided upon, proposed a new one to the Haitian Legation at Washington which had just been invested with the full powers of the Haitian Commission recalled toward the beginning of June, 1916. The new project, transmitted to the Haitian Government by M. Solon Ménos, Haitian Minister at Washington, contained an Article 2 drawn up as follows:

> . . . The medical officers necessary for the sanitary measures provided in Article 13 of the treaty, the operation, management, and maintenance of the telegraphs, telephones, the light-house service, and the postal service shall be directed and controlled by the commandant of the gendarmerie.

[20] See communication of March 26, 1917. Borno, "Report to the President of Haiti," etc., pp. 216, 217.

This meant the turning over of the whole civil Administration to an organization whose exclusively military and policing character had been determined in the treaty of September 16, 1915. The Haitian Government decided not to accept this article. In the course of a conference held on August 3, 1916, at the United States Legation between Mr. G. Scholle, American Charge d'Affaires, Colonel Waller, commandant of the Expeditionary Corps, and Major Smedley D. Butler, commandant of the Gendarmerie of Haiti, on one hand; and M. Edmond Héraux, Secretary of State for Finance, and M. Louis Borno, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on the other, the American Chargé d'Affaires produced a text which he declared was that of the State Department and which differed considerably from the official text transmitted to the Haitian Government by M. Solon Ménos, Haitian Minister at Washington. This new text read as follows:

> Article 2. The Department of Public Health and Public Works, as prescribed by Article 13 of the Treaty, the operation, the management, and maintenance of telegraphs, telephone, the light-house service, and the postal service shall be directed and controlled by the commandant of the gendarmerie.

Mr. Gustave Scholle declared that if within twenty-four hours the Haitian Government did not take official steps for placing under the control of the Haitian gendarmerie the services indicated by this Article 2, the United States Legation would telegraph to the State Department not to sign the agreement on hand. And Colonel Waller added that if in twenty-four hours this step was not taken, he would telegraph to Washington that the Haitian Government was insincere and unstable. M. Louis Borno asked Mr. Scholle to communicate to him in writing the statement which he had just made. Mr. Scholle would not consent.

The situation was not improved and the pressure became more and more violent. In informing the Haitian Minister at Washington of the verbal ultimatum which the Haitian Government had received, M. Louis Borno, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said, in a cablegram of August 5, 1916:

> . . . Inform immediately the Secretary of State of this state of coercion. Say that the Haitian Government has decided to refuse all military demands contrary to the convention. Do not fail to make clear and defend our Government's position. Meanwhile we are replying to the Legation that since negotiations are being carried on at Washington, you are deciding the question with the State Department. Keep me constantly informed of your activities and of results. Situation serious, demands speed and energy. Our Government stands firm and does not intend to yield to the new demands of the Occupation, which are supported by the American Legation.

Finally an agreement was reached, signed August 24, 1916, at Washington, by the terms of which "the operation, management, and maintenance of the telegraphs and telephones in the Republic of Haiti shall be under the control and direction of the engineer or engineers to be nominated by the President of the United States and authorized for that purpose by the Government of Haiti in accordance with Article 13 of the treaty of September 16, 1915."

This agreement added to the convention by increasing the powers and authority of the engineer or engineers designated by Article 13.

Instead of simply keeping to the regime fixed by the treaty, the Haitian Government was constantly obliged by the American officials to take unjustified initiatives. It was

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forced to accept the placing of American superintendents in charge of the postal service and of the Ministry of Public Education, with salaries equal to and in some cases even higher than those of the State Secretaries.

At the municipal councils, it was obliged to appoint so-called council officers who had, actually, the exclusive administration of the communes and absolute control of municipal affairs, including revenues and expenses. This state of affairs, not provided for in the treaty, gave rise to regrettable conflicts. When a council officer (American) was confronted by an administrator of finances and provisional prefect (Haitian official) wishing to investigate the accounts of the commune, as the law obliges him to do, it always ended either with the forced silence of the Haitian official or with all kinds of difficulties which he had to face simply because he was trying to do his duty. In this connection we particularly desire to call attention to the case of M. Auguste Magloire, administrator of finances and provisional prefect of the district of Port-au-Prince, and therefore appointed by law to verify the accounts of the communes in his section. This high official, with no reason that could ever be found, was one day brutally arrested and imprisoned by the American Military Occupation. After twenty-one days of detention he was released without ever having undergone any examination. He was again arrested, shortly after, and made to understand that his difficulties would be over as soon as he should resign as administrator of finances and provisional prefect of the district of Port-au-Prince. In fact, he sent in his resignation to the President of Haiti and immediately was released. Since then he has not been disturbed. It seems to have been too attentive an examination of the accounts of the council officers for certain communes of the district of Port-au-Prince that caused all his troubles. We think that it would be interesting, in an investigation, to determine this point and others with similar implications.

The treaty of September, 1915, in addition to the military officials of the gendarmerie, provides for (1) a financial adviser; (2) a receiver-general of customs, his assistants and employees; (3) one or more engineers of public works; (4) one or more engineers for public hygiene.

The rights and duties of these officials are clearly determined by the treaty or by special agreements or regulations which determine the departments of public administration in which they must cooperate with the Haitian Government. Consequently, all other departments of the public administration should have remained under the exclusive control of the Haitian Government. But actually there is not a branch of public service in Haiti which has not had to submit, at one time or another, to illegal interference, often brutal, either by the gendarmerie laying down the law to the Government or by the Military Occupation the absolute master of the situation.

Even the Haitian Department of Justice has not escaped serious traces of their domination. In fact, in the "Exposé Général de la Situation de la République d'Haïti, 1917," p. 15, a chapter is found which presents the case as follows:

> The encroachments of American agents have been felt also in the Department of Justice. In spite of all the protests of the Department of Foreign Affairs to the American Legation, these encroachments have not ceased. Great harm has been caused both to the persons under jurisdiction and to the dignity of the magistracy itself, whose decisions usually encounter obstacles on the part of the agents from Washington. It is most necessary that such a state of things cease at once.

By the terms of Article 10 of the treaty of September 16, 1915, the gendarmerie was created for the sake of preserving internal peace, security of individual rights, and complete observance of the said treaty.

The maintenance of peace, which had been disturbed too often in recent times, was one of the essential objects of American intervention, and it was to obtain this that provision was made for an effective rural and urban gendarmerie composed of Haitians, but organized and directed by American officers. How has the Haitian gendarmerie, commanded by American officers, who themselves never acted except under orders of the American Occupation, how has this public force understood and carried out the object of Article 10 of the treaty? The answer to this is the whole history of American intervention in Haiti.

Internal peace could not be preserved because the permanent and brutal violation of individual rights of Haitian citizens was a perpetual provocation to revolt, because the terrible military despotism which has ruled in Haiti for the last six years has not created and could not create for the Haitian people that security which it was hoped the application of the treaty would bring about. Among other things, it is sufficient to call attention here to the system of *corvée*, that is to say, forced unpaid labor on public roads, imposed for military purposes upon the Haitian peasant. This will give some idea of why the gendarmerie, aided and encouraged by the American Occupation, instead of assuring respect for individual rights, caused the revolt known as the revolt of the Cacos for the repression of which so many useless atrocities were committed by the marines in our unhappy country. This gendarmerie, in spite of the aid of the marines of the Occupation and the use of the most modern armament (machine guns, military planes, armored cars, etc.), was never able, by purely military methods, to contend with these undisciplined and unarmed bands known as Cacos. Therefore it is ineffective. And if it is ineffective it is because, in spite of the repeated warnings of the Government, the personnel which composes it was not chosen as it should have been. In fact, it contains men "wanted" by the Haitian courts for criminal acts (robberies, murders, etc.). Examination of the archives of the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice of Haiti will throw light on this subject.

The same Article 10 of the treaty of September 16, 1915, provides that "the American officers of the gendarmerie will be replaced by Haitians when the latter, after an examination by a committee chosen by the superior officer in charge of the Haitian gendarmerie, are judged capable of carrying out their duties effectively." This provision naturally implied the establishment of an officers' training school. But this officers' training school has never been established. It could not be, for two reasons:

1. As a general rule, the American officers of the gendarmerie are privates (in the American marine corps) who have been made officers in Haiti, and who have had nothing but a most elementary education, which naturally renders them incapable of any military training.

2. For this officers' school a special recruitment would have to be made, since the rank and file of the gendarmerie as it is is composed chiefly of illiterates. After the voting of the treaty, a certain number of young Haitians, expecting the early establishment of an officers' training school, enrolled themselves as students. But the American military authorities, knowing well that the former American

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privates who had become officers in Haiti could not be converted into military instructors, put off, under one pretext or another, the cooperation that was offered them.

And this provision of the treaty, too, remained a dead letter. If the urban gendarmerie is ineffective, the rural gendarmerie does not exist at all, despite Article 10 of the treaty. After the arrival of the American Occupation an old constabulary which had been serviceable and could easily have been improved and adapted to new conditions was abolished. It was not replaced by any kind of an organization, and so far the rural gendarmerie has not been established. The insecurity in the country is such as to discourage the peasants, causing them to leave the country where they were born and spent their entire lives and to emigrate in large numbers to Cuba.

Here is the way, with the customary reserve characteristic of official documents and their euphemisms dictated by policy, in which the Haitian Department of the Interior expresses its judgment of the gendarmerie:

> It renders to the country, if not all the services that might be expected of it, at least those which its organization, still incomplete, permits it. . . .[21] One of the greatest concerns of the Department is *to assure complete and absolute security in the country.*[22] It is working there tenaciously, and hopes shortly, with the active aid of the gendarmerie, to be rewarded for its efforts and to accomplish its aim.[23]

The President of the Republic of Haiti, in an interview with correspondents of American newspapers (New York *Tribune*, Chicago *Tribune*, etc.) at Port-au-Prince in November, 1920, expressed a more precise and more categorical criticism than that of the Department of the Interior: "The rural police," he said, "which was abolished after the Occupation, has not been reorganized as provided by Article 10 of the convention and Article 118 of the Constitution. The robberies and insecurity in the country discourage the peasants in their work; they emigrate in crowds to Cuba."[24]

Official documents of Haiti clearly confirm that the treaty of September 16, 1915, has never been carried out by the American Government.

On January 13, 1916, more than a month after the modus vivendi of November 29, 1915, signed between the two Governments for the provisional execution of the treaty, M. Louis Borno, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, wrote to Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, American Minister at Port-au-Prince:

> We are continually confronted with proceedings antedating the convention. . . . The rule which the two high parties sanctioned by their signatures is the only one which ought to be applied. The Haitian Government must, then, require the fullest application actually possible.[25]

By the exchange of ratifications which took place at Washington on May 3, 1916, the treaty had gone fully into force. On June 5, 1916, the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a communication to M. Solon Ménos, Haitian Minister at Washington, protested against the continuation of conditions which the treaty should have ended. Asking that a copy of his communication be submitted to Mr. Lansing, the Haitian Secretary of Foreign Affairs stated, among other things:

> Is it possible to permit the administration of the Haitian customs and of the Haitian National Treasury to be carried on any longer without any control by the Haitian Government? What is the amount of the customs revenues? Just what are all the expenses that are being incurred? What are the funds at the disposal of the Treasury? The Government, in spite of its repeated demands, is unable to say. Up to the present, the Occupation has not, for nearly a year, supplied any report or any accounts. The Government has not the slightest doubt regarding the absolute honesty of the American officers; this honesty is above all question. What it wants to have established is the abnormal and disagreeable position of a Government which is refused information concerning its own affairs, and even refused any knowledge of circumstances or control of the situation. . . .[26]

On June 29, 1916, in another communication to M. Solon Ménos, Minister to Washington, the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs expressed himself as follows:

> . . . You cannot do too much to keep the State Department on guard against the usurping tendencies of the Occupation. Do not spare any effort to make the American Government understand that the Dartiguenave Government, which signed the convention, must necessarily be firmly bound to the success of its work; that it is, therefore, strictly interested in supplying the greatest and frankest cooperation to the intervention, but within the limits of the convention as faithfully interpreted. If it acted otherwise, if, now that this convention has been proclaimed by President Wilson and is in full force, the Haitian Government permitted its clauses not to be observed in the spirit which dictated them, that is to say, a spirit respectful of our rights as a free State, if the Military Occupation can be permitted to invade all Haitian public services, public works and others—in violation of the clauses of the convention which provide for the appointment of special agents, engineers, and others —what would happen? The Haitian people, humiliated by this contempt for solemn promises, would have nothing but hatred and repulsion for American intervention. The Haitian Government which would accept such a situation would find itself generally discredited, to say nothing of the fact that it would assume terrible responsibilities in the eyes of its country.
>
> Keep in mind these ideas, Mr. Minister. They suffice for you to know what solutions the Government will accept in the negotiations which are confided to you.
>
> Most especially I draw your attention to the necessity for putting an end to martial law. As long as there were any threats of revolutionary trouble, unimportant as they might be, the Government said nothing about its existence. But it is undeniably certain that nothing really serious and of a general character could be attempted now against the public peace. Therefore, this martial law which weighs upon the country has become utterly useless. Demand its abolition with insistence. . . .[27]

In a communication of June 28, 1916, the Haitian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs stated to Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, American Minister, at Port-au-Prince:

> . . . However strong may be our desire always to maintain perfect harmony with the American authorities, a natural duty, higher than anything else, binds us—the duty of scrupulously watching out for the observance of the clauses of the solemn convention which binds our two countries and which has been in effect since the 3rd of last March.
>
> The Haitian Government would betray its duty if, by its silence, it sanctioned the formal violations of this convention which have just been described, etc.[28]

[21] "Exposé Général de la Situation de la République d'Haïti, année 1917," p. 76.

[22] Italics ours.

[23] "Exposé Général de la Situation de la République d'Haïti, 1917," p. 62.

[24] See *L'Essor*, Port-au-Prince, November 24, 1920.

[25] Communication of January 13, 1916. "Report to the President of Haiti," by Louis Borno, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, vol. 1, p. 222.

[26] Communication of June 5, 1916. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 225.

[27] Communication of June 24, 1916. Louis Borno, "Report to the President of Haiti," vol. 1, pp. 200-201.

[28] Communication of June 28, 1916. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

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As for the civil administrations which, against the will of the Haitian Government and contrary to the Modus Vivendi of November 29, 1915, still remained in the hands of the Occupation, the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a communication of July 17, 1916, made the following remark to Mr. Gustave Scholle, Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* of the United States of America:

. . . Such an abnormal situation cannot be indefinitely permitted. Since the exchange of ratifications definitely did put the treaty into force, the Haitian Government, as well as the Government of the United States, was bound to adjust everything as soon as possible to the rules of the new regime, solemnly sanctioned and proclaimed by the public authorities of the two countries. The Occupation should have from that time on restrained its activities and confined itself within the limitations of its military functions. . . . But contrary to that, etc.[29]

According to the Haitian Constitution (Article 80), the Executive Power must submit annually to the two legislative chambers, within a week of the opening of the regular session, a sort of general report covering everything of a political or administrative nature that has been done during the past year. This official document is known as "Exposé Général de la Situation de la Republique d'Haïti." Following are the comments found therein with regard to the non-execution of the convention of September 16, 1915:

. . . It can be said that the convention of September 16, 1915, has not been carried out to date, and that this breach of promises is due to the agents of the American Government. . . .[30]

I deeply regret to state that the various matters which formed the subject of the last exposé regarding the convention of 1915 are still unchanged. The same differences still exist, and I should only repeat myself by relating them to Your Excellency:

I confine myself to giving you assurance that the Department will continue its activities, convinced of our right and confident of the triumph of all that is just and fair.[31]

. . . My Department is obliged to repeat what the Exposés of 1917 and 1918 stated with regard to the application of the convention of 1915. Not only has it been impossible to solve the matters brought up after the ratification of the convention, but moreover the vote of the budget of 1918-19 gave rise to such difficulties between the Government and the Financial Adviser, who was supported by the Chief of the Military Occupation at this time, Col. J. H. Russell, that the Department of Foreign Affairs was obliged to address a note to the State Department at Washington[32] to protest against the procedure which certain American officials considered themselves entitled to adopt toward us.

To this note the Secretary of State at Washington, Mr. Robert Lansing, replied a few days later, saying to the Haitian Government that, "in view of the very serious implication of the general accusation against American officials in Haiti contained in the above-mentioned note, the Government of the United States desires the Government of Haiti to make a more precise and more detailed declaration regarding the questions raised in the note of November 20, 1918."[33]

To satisfy this entirely just demand of the Secretary of State the Department of Foreign Affairs collected in a memorandum all the facts pertaining to the matters of which the Haitian Government had complained in its note of November 20 and sent it to our Legation at Washington with instruction for its submission to the Department of State. It was submitted on February 14 last by our Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim* in Washington.[34]

[29] Communication of July 17, 1916. Louis Borno, "Report to the President of Haiti," vol. 1, pp. 233-234.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 15. [31] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[32] See Appendix No. 8.
[33] See Appendix No. 9.
[34] See "Exposé Général de la Situation de la République d'Haïti, 1919," pp. 14, 15.

In November, 1920, it is the President of the Haitian Republic himself who, in a striking declaration made to the correspondents of American newspapers who had followed in Haiti the Naval Court of Inquiry presided over by Admiral Mayo, formulated the grievances of the Haitian Government with regard to the non-execution of the convention of September 16, 1915.

After recalling the aims of American intervention in Haiti, such as they were indicated in the preamble of the treaty of September 16, 1915, that is to say, (a) maintenance of public peace, and (b) establishment of the finances on a sound basis and the economic development of Haiti, M. Dartiguenave made points indicated subsequently. (1) As to the matter of general peace, he had hoped that the Commission of Inquiry presided over by Admiral Mayo would try to find out how the Americans charged with maintaining this peace understood and accomplished their mission. M. Dartiguenave had granted his interview to the American journalists while the Naval Court of Inquiry was being held at Port-au-Prince, and he had doubtless been unwilling, in communicating his opinions as chief of the Haitian Government, to appear to exercise any influence on the work of this Court. He received no report either from the gendarmerie, of which he was legally commander-in-chief, or from the Occupation. This is what he said on this subject:

. . . Article 103 of the Constitution, in the third paragraph, provides that a law shall establish in the communes and provinces [Haitian] civil officials who are to represent directly the Executive Power. It is impossible for the Haitian Government to have these civil officials, because the American Minister and the Financial Adviser have refused the appropriations, however small, for salaries for these positions, in consequence of which the Executive Power has no special agent to report to him—the gendarmerie making no reports on general conditions in the country, except to the Chief of the Occupation.

If a paid official reports to the Executive Power, his salary is cut off if indeed he is not arrested and tried by court-martial, whether he be Judge, a Government Commissioner, or a Mayor [Magistrat Communal], and this happens in contravention of the law and Articles 101 and 102 of the Constitution.

Regarding the aid which the Government of the United States had solemnly promised to the Haitian people for the improvement of their finances, their economic development, and the prosperity of the Republic, the declarations of the President of Haiti are as follows:

. . . No effective aid has been brought to Haiti for the development of its agricultural and industrial resources, and no constructive measure has been proposed, for the purpose of placing its finances on a really solid basis.

By the terms of Article 2, paragraph 2, of the convention, the President of Haiti appoints, upon the nomination of the President of the United States, a Financial Adviser who will be an official attached to the Ministry of Finances. The adviser is, then, a Haitian official paid $10,000 (American gold) annually by the Haitian public treasury. But in reality the Financial Adviser is not responsible to the Haitian Government. On the contrary his actions indicate his purpose to subject it to his will.

Numerous facts show the omnipotence which the Financial Adviser arrogates to himself. Nothing more strikingly illustrates this than the confiscation by the Financial Adviser, with the support of the American Minister, of the salaries of the President of the Republic, the State Secretaries, and the members of the Legislative Council, because the Government had refused to insert in the contract of the National Bank of Haiti (which is controlled by The National City Bank of New York), a clause prohibiting the importation into Haiti of foreign gold coins, which the Financial Adviser wanted to force upon them.

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He also prevented the voting of the budget, contrary to the provision of the Haitian Constitution.

Article 2 of the convention says: "The Financial Adviser shall draw up an adequate system of public accounting." We are still waiting for this new system which was to simplify the accounts of the State. Instead of introducing such a system, the Financial Adviser demanded the abolition of an old Haitian institution, the Audit Office [Chambre des Comptes]. In spite of all the efforts of the Government to reestablish this indispensable organization, the Financial Adviser persistently refused to have it done. Consequently, there is no way for the Haitian people to control its finances, which are entirely in the hands of the American officials of the treaty.

Article 2 of the convention says also: "The Financial Adviser shall help to increase the revenues." The Financial Adviser has so far proposed nothing to the Government to bring this about. The only attempt he has made in this direction was the project for the creation of internal taxes, which he presented in 1918 and which he wanted the Government to pass within twenty-four hours. The project was so crude and so badly drawn up that the Government had to refuse this demand and prepare a counter-project better adapted to the customs and financial resources of the Haitian nation.

It is about twenty months since this counter-project was returned to the Financial Adviser for further consideration—we have heard nothing more of it.

Article 2 of the convention says further: "The Financial Adviser shall inquire into the validity of the debts of the Republic, shall keep the two Governments informed regarding all future debts, shall recommend improved methods of collecting and applying the revenues, and shall make such recommendations to the State Secretary for Finances as are judged necessary for the well-being and prosperity of the Republic. . . ."

No inquiry into the validity of our debts has been made.

No improved method of collecting the revenues has been recommended.

No recommendation for the well-being and prosperity of the Republic has yet been made to the Haitian Government.

The duties of the Financial Adviser, as defined in Article 2 of the convention, doubtless require a man of great financial experience. This essential consideration does not seem to have had any weight in the choice of the Financial Adviser. This is proved by the unfortunate transaction which he put through for the Republic last year, in the face of directly contrary instructions of the Haitian Government. Three million American dollars were to be converted into francs for Haiti's best interests.[35] He converted them in October, 1919, at a time when the value of the franc was lowering rapidly, the exchange being 9 and a fraction francs for a dollar. Shortly afterwards the dollar was worth 17 francs. This transaction involved the Haitian people in a loss of several millions of francs.

Faced with this inertia on the part of the Financial Adviser, the Haitian Government is augmenting its efforts; it is studying various measures, and preparing projects which it considers more likely to meet the numerous needs of progress of the Haitian people. All its measures, all its projects encounter the opposition either of the Financial Adviser or of the American Minister, who very often reject them without examination and without condescending to say why.

Now we come to the strangest phase of the situation from the point of view of the Haitian Government; not only have American officials done nothing that could have been done for the intellectual development and economic prosperity of the country, but they oppose the Government's work in this direction. Numerous projects for laws dealing with the finances, agriculture, public education, administrative and rural organization meet with either the direct opposition of the American officials, or lie unanswered in the archives of the American Legation.

[35] For a payment of interest on the debt of France, then due.

Particular resistance is made to projects dealing with the education of the people, such as for the preparation of teachers for primary education, industrial and agricultural schools, secondary or higher education, and for the construction of school buildings.

The Government does not pretend to believe that the projects which it prepares are perfect; but since they approximate the vital needs of the country, the American officials ought to take the trouble to examine them, and if they find that they are imperfect or bad, should propose modifications or substitute other projects which could be discussed with the common desire to arrive at a satisfactory solution. In this way alone can a "cordial cooperation" be obtained, and only in this way ought it to be understood.

Is it understood in this way? Never.

When the Financial Adviser proposes a measure, he understands that this measure is to be adopted without any examination by the Government.

When the Government does the proposing, the proposal is rejected without examination, or modifications are made which it must accept without discussion.

And it is always in the name of the Government of the United States that the American Minister imposes upon the Haitian people the least worthy demands of the American officials, who are paid with Haitian money. And if the Government refuses to yield, the worst humiliations are inflicted upon it.

The excuse usually made in support of the rejection of Government projects is the following: "There is no money."

Of course there is always enough money for American uses.

Here are two striking examples:

Two cases of plague in New Orleans are reported. The Financial Adviser, who was in Washington at this time, authorizes the appointment of two "rat-catchers"—not for New Orleans, where the plague was discovered, but for Port-au-Prince, which was never troubled with this disease. He fixes their monthly salary at $250 each, quite without any word to the Government, regardless of any law or budget appropriation.

But at the same time, the Financial Adviser refused appropriations for three associate professors from the University of France, who were offered to the Haitian Government by the French Government for the Lycée of Port-au-Prince.

Article 7 of the convention is drawn up as follows:

All amounts collected by and in keeping of the Receiver-General shall be used (1) for the payment of the salaries and allowances of the Receiver-General, his assistants and employees, for the expenses of the Collector's office, which shall include the salary of the Financial Adviser, salaries to be determined by a previous agreement; (2) for the interest and amortization of the public debt of Haiti; (3) for the maintenance of the police referred to in Article 10, and the balance for the current expenses of the Haitian Government.

This article establishes the order in which the expenses of the Republic of Haiti should be met, by means of the custom duties collected from the custom houses by the Receiver-General.

The expenses of the Government come last of all, and include (1) salaries of public officials other than those indicated in the first part of the article; (2) expenses of the public works and hygiene administrations; (3) expenses for material, office furniture, etc.

It will be noticed that the expenses that come second are those relating to the Haitian public debt, interest, and amortization. If these disbursements were known, the amount due the Government for its current expenses would also be established, and the Government would be free to dispose of it. But this has never been done and for the following reason:

To hold the Government in curb, to be able whenever it resists an unjustified demand to exert a pressure which will oblige it to yield, it must be kept completely dependent upon the Financial Adviser and the Receiver-General, so far as finances are concerned.

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If it is a question of a new expense considered necessary by the Government, which the American authorities do not wish to grant, the answer is: "There is no money—the reserve funds must go toward the payment of the public debt."

Very often this same reply is made for regular expenses provided for in the budget.

In addition to the custom duties, there are other budget resources which the convention has left to the free disposal of the Government for its legal expenses. The Financial Adviser, supported by the American Minister and the military authorities who on this occasion resorted to martial law, demanded that these funds be turned over to him.

In this way, the Government is entirely at the mercy of the caprices and of the arbitrary will of the Financial Adviser.

The State Department, absorbed, doubtless, in more important questions of foreign policy or ill informed by its official agents, is deaf to our protests, or simply upholds the position of the American authorities.

We have been reproached by certain American newspapers on the ground that Haiti did not pay its debts before the Occupation. This is entirely false. In spite of all its financial difficulties, Haiti has always lived up to her agreements. *The administration of the public debt was not suspended until after the Occupation*;[36] it was resumed at the beginning of this year, and just at this time the Government is insisting with the greatest energy on the payment of the internal debt.

Each year the American Minister and the Financial Adviser reject the project of the Haitian Government for the application of the second paragraph of Article 116 of the Constitution, which reads: "The examination and liquidation of the accounts of the General Administration and of everything accountable to the Public Treasury shall be carried on according to the method established by law."

The examination and liquidation of accounts, according to Haitian law, was carried on by an institution of long standing, called the *Chambre des Comptes*.

In conformity with Article 2 of the convention, the Haitian Government is vainly demanding the adequate system of public accounting that the Financial Adviser is supposed to draw up in order to replace the Audit office.

All of Article 2 of the convention is a dead letter. The Financial Adviser ignores it. He pays no attention to the urgent and necessary credits of the Haitian Government established by law; he spends at will, regardless of any law, obliging the Government to ratify his acts.

To sum up, the Haitian Government is under humiliating subjection through lack of cooperation. Its efforts to collaborate in good faith are fruitless—they are scorned and rejected. There does not seem to exist between the two Governments a reciprocal contract that the two parties must respect.[37]

This conclusion of the important declaration of the President of Haiti regarding the total failure of the American Government to execute the convention of September 16, 1915, is the point of view of the entire Haitian people.

HAITIAN FINANCES

The Financial Aid Promised by the United States

Haiti has always lived up loyally to her financial agreements. One of the reasons given for American intervention is the breaking of these agreements. As those of many other countries, Haitian finances have passed through critical periods, but the leaders of the country have always been able to find the necessary solution to the problems that confronted them.

For a long time Haiti has borne the weight of a heavy debt which has hindered her economic development.

By a royal decree, King Charles X of France, in return for 150 million francs as indemnity for the losses incurred by the former colonists and payable in five equal instalments, granted to Haiti on April 17, 1825, an independence which the Haitians had conquered at the price of hard and bloody sacrifices. In the continual expectation of the offensive return of the French, and weary of maintaining the country for more than twenty years in a state of war, the Government of President Boyer accepted the arrangement of the King of France which stipulated these painful conditions.

By means of a loan of 24 million francs, issued at Paris at the rate of 80 per cent and bearing 6 per cent interest, to which was added 6 million francs paid in specie by the Haitian Treasury, the first instalment of the indemnity was paid.

But owing to the energetic protests of the Haitian people and the refusal of the French Government to reduce this heavy indemnity, the Haitian Government suspended the payment of the four other instalments of the indemnity with the clear intention, however, of paying the annuities (interest and principal) of the loan. After long and delicate negotiations, the Government of Louis Philippe consented, on February 12, 1838, to recognize the independence of Haiti by treaty. At the same time a financial convention was signed, reducing the balance of the indemnity from 120 million francs to 60 million.

The loan of 24 million francs and the indemnity were known as "the Double French Debt." It was entirely paid off in 1893, after 58 years.

Soon after the first payments of the 30 million francs, the Haitian Government found itself handicapped in meeting its most urgent budget expenses. In 1826 it had to resort to paper money. The burdens imposed upon the country were too heavy; this was the beginning of all its troubles. The nation was barely able to recover from the losses incurred by the wars of Santo Domingo,[38] the war with the English, the struggle of the French against Toussaint-Louverture, and the War of Independence which started in 1802 and ended with the surrender of Rochambeau at Cap Haitien in November, 1803. The plantations had disappeared, the towns and villages had been nearly all destroyed—nearly a hundred thousand Haitians had lost their lives in the pitiless struggle for liberty. Sugar and indigo, the chief exports of the island, had no more markets in France, and there was not enough capital to revive the sugar mills. Courageously the Haitian people undertook and intensified other forms of cultivation, and in this way coffee, cotton, and cocoa became the principal products of the land. In spite of so many misfortunes the country continually made sacrifices to live loyally up to its agreements. Thus, next year, the balance of the loan of 1875 will be paid off if the expected conditions are fulfilled. This loan, originally of 21 million francs, consisting of bonds of 300 franc denomination bearing interest at 5 per cent, was to carry out the agreements with France (French Double Debt) and to pay certain internal debts.

In 1922, the balance due will be:

Capital	Frs.	2,513,760
Interest		179,778
Total	Frs.	2,693,538

[36] Italics ours.
[37] See *L'Essor*, Port-au-Prince, November 24, 1920.
[38] Former name of Haïti under the French rule.

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In the month of April, 1896, on the account of the Republic of Haiti, a loan was floated at Paris amounting to 50 million francs, nominal value, represented by 100,000 shares of 500 francs, at 6 per cent a year, payable in thirty-seven years. The balance of this loan now outstanding, represented by 59,349 shares, is 29,674,500 francs. Its complete amortization will take place in 1932.

The loan of 1910 was authorized by a law of October 21, 1910. It was to redeem the old internal debt and to provide for the final redemption of the paper money. It was actually issued on February 17, 1911, but it bears the date of the year when the act was voted. Of its face of 65 million francs—130 thousand shares of 500 francs—only 47 million francs were turned over to the Government by the banking syndicate and deposited in the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti. This loan bears interest at 5 per cent a year, and is payable in fifty years. The amortization must take place either by means of purchases at the Bourse de Paris while the shares are below par, or by means of draft by lot, at their nominal value, when they have reached par. Interest is payable semi-annually by coupons of 12 frs. 50, due May 15 and November 15 of each year.

The present status of this loan is as follows:

In circulation, 123,153 shares of 500 francs, that is, 61,576,500 francs.

The status of the triple foreign debt of Haiti was therefore on July 28, 1915,[39] as follows:

Loan of 1875: The coupons due on July 1, 1915, had been paid and the work of amortization had been carried out.

Loan of 1896: The interest on the coupons due June 30, 1915, had been paid. The amortization drafts for December, 1914, had been suspended, because of the world-wide situation created by the European war. It was no more than a delay. The necessary provisions had already been made for amortization.

Loan of 1910: On this loan, the interest had been paid and the amortization carried out on May 15, 1915.

From the time of the landing of American troops on July 28, 1915, the Military Occupation suspended payment of the foreign debt of the Republic which the Haitian Government had been able to carry on until then to the satisfaction of its creditors. But not even the signing and execution of the treaty of September 16, 1915, was to put an end to this state of affairs, which was so injurious to the credit of the country. This decision was even more incomprehensible when the special funds for the payment of the interest and amortization of this debt had accumulated and were remaining unproductive in the vaults of the National Bank of the Republic of Haiti. It was not until last year (1920) that the interest due was finally paid, upon the repeated demands of the bondholders, almost all foreigners, and upheld by their respective Governments. As for the internal debt, except for a partial payment made in April, 1916, no payment of interest has been made up to now, in spite of the demands of the bondholders. Their voices were not heard for the simple reason that they were nearly all Haitians.

In a report of March 20, 1917, the Consul-General of the United States at Port-au-Prince said on this subject: "It is unfortunate for commerce that the internal debt has not been adjusted nor the interest paid, this default having resulted in reducing sales very materially for 1917. Most of the bonds are held by the people, who have been expecting the interest to be paid *as formerly*,[40] thereby to meet their living expenses. The failure to do this has embarrassed them financially and will tend to diminish the sale of imported goods."[40½]

Thus, the principle object of the treaty, which was to place Haitian finances on a solid basis, has not been fulfilled, nor has the financial aid which was promised by the United States been effectively given. In fact, up to the present time, the monetary circulation of Haiti is still paper money, and instead of substituting metal money for it, the Financial Adviser has fixed the Haitian gourde at 1/5 of the American dollar, to the detriment of all those who receive it in payment for their work.[41] A further resulting injustice is involved in the fact that, in conformity with the budget of the Haitian Republic, certain officials are paid in American gold and others are paid in Haitian money, no calculation being made in favor of these latter, in consideration of the depreciation of this money in relation to the American dollar. Naturally, all the officials from the United States are in the first category.

As another proof that no financial aid has been given to Haiti since the signing of the treaty, it is sufficient to bear in mind that since the year 1917, acting upon the suggestions of the Financial Adviser, the Government has been trying to float a loan of several million dollars in the United States, and that its efforts have been unsuccessful, in spite of the fact that the American Government realizes the urgent necessity of this loan for the improvement of Haitian finances.

In a report of October 14, 1920, addressed to the Secretary of the Navy, Rear-Admiral Knapp stated as to this projected loan:

> To place the finances on a firm basis in accordance with modern ideas, a loan is necessary . . . and such a loan was the early confident anticipation, not only of the Haitian Government but of the American Government, when the treaty was concluded. Constant efforts have since been made to obtain it, and great disappointment is felt that its flotation has so far proved impossible.[42]

The internal debt is at present $2,278,886.20. Up to January 31, 1921, interest due amounted to $705,366.25. There is needed for the monthly payment of interest on this debt only $12,514.93.

Floating Debt: There is a floating debt which reaches an approximate figure of $4,420,920.00. It should be submitted to careful examination so that it may be reduced and be restored to its real amount. Those who are interested are waiting in vain for this to be carried out.

SUPPRESSION OF THE HAITIAN LEGISLATURE

Immediately after the ratification by the Haitian Chambers of the convention of September 16, 1915, the provisions of which were not consistent with the Constitution in force, the question arose in governmental circles of a constitutional revision. Legally, this revision could be carried out only by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, meeting as the National Assembly. Instead of following this procedure which was established by the Constitution, the Government preferred to resort to a *coup d'état*.

Under pressure of the American Occupation, President Dartiguenave, on April 5, 1916, issued an unconstitutional

[39] Date of landing of the United States troops on the Haitian soil.

[40] Italics ours.

[40½] See page 276, "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy," 1920.

[41] The legal value of the Haitian gourde is $1.00 (one dollar).

[42] See "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1920," pp. 230-231.

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decree, dissolving the Senate. The same decree transformed the Chamber of Deputies into a Constituent Assembly for revising the Constitution. Another decree created a Council of State to be appointed by the President of the Republic.

All these measures were illegal and undemocratic. They substituted dictatorship for constitutional government.

On April 7 the Deputies and Senators protested against them, since the Constitution in force did not grant the President of the Republic the right of dissolution. But the legislative building was closed, and gendarmes were placed there to keep out the representatives of the people. The latter turned to the courts, and on April 15 the Civil Court of Port-au-Prince issued two judicial decrees, authorizing the Deputies and Senators to open the gates of the legislative building.

The two eminent jurists, MM. Luxembourg Cauvin and Edmond Lespinasse, who had obtained the decrees, went to Colonel Littleton W. Waller, commanding the United States expeditionary forces in Haiti, to make sure there would be no obstacle to the execution of the decisions of the Haitian judicial authorities. Without hesitation, the Colonel replied that such a step would be considered as a provocation to the American Occupation. It was the Occupation, then, that forbade the entrance of the legal representatives of the Haitian people into their legislative building.

But still wishing to carry out their constitutional mandate, the Deputies and Senators assembled in houses rented at their own expense. On April 17 and 18, 1916, they elected their committees, and on the 27th they opened the third session of the twenty-eighth legislature in the regular way. The President of the Senate, M. Paul Laraque, received the following letter from Colonel Littleton W. Waller:

Headquarters U. S. Expeditionary Force
operating in Haiti.
Port-au-Prince, Haiti, April 27, 1916

My dear Mr. Laraque,

Replying to your verbal request for a meeting today, I have the honor to inform you that this cannot be granted except under conditions of the proposals of yesterday, accepted in writing with the clear understanding that the general revision of the Constitution is understood and agreed upon between us.

1. The National Assembly constituent has constituent powers only, and upon completion of their labors in revision of the Constitution cannot resume legislative powers.

2. If the Senate declines to act in conjunction with the Deputies, it remains dissolved.

3. The acceptance of this agreement to be given in writing.

Hoping for an amicable settlement of this and other vexed questions.

With expressions of esteem and regard,

Sincerely yours,

LITTLETON W. WALLER.

Port-au-Prince, April 27, 1916.
Agreed and subscribed to this date.
President of the Senate.

Answer:

Port-au-Prince, April 28, 1916
To Colonel Littleton W. Waller,
Chief of the United States Expeditionary Forces in Haiti
Dear Sir:

In reply to your letter of the 27th instant, containing proposals regarding an amicable arrangement of the present crisis, I have the honor to inform you that these proposals surprised and pained me, and are, I am convinced, only the result of a misunderstanding.

The Chambers are, in fact, most desirous of amicably solving the present situation, for which they are not responsible. Although they have the law and all public opinion on their side, their spirit is most conciliatory.

But they could not, under any condition, sanction any unconstitutional measure, or even less, act illegally themselves.

On the other hand, the members of the present Cabinet trample upon the most elementary principles or our parliamentary rule, a rule which, while placing the person of the President above all controversy, makes the Cabinet responsible to the Chambers, and by these acts of aggression give rise to reports which are injurious to the national representative body. Such procedure cannot aid in bringing about an amicable solution of the crisis.

The Government of the United States had let it be understood that it would uphold in Haiti the constitutional government of the country and would have its laws observed.

The attempt to abolish the Senate is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and constitutes consequently a revolutionary act, just as much as the decree of the revolutionary committee of August, 1915.

It is a question of finding out if the Government and the people of the United States are now upholding this revolutionary act.

Like you, I am always hoping that it will be possible to arrive at a satisfactory solution, since the Senate is prepared to accept any proposal compatible with its dignity and with respect for the laws.

Accept, Colonel, expressions of my highest esteem.

President of the Senate,
PAUL LARAQUE

On May 2, 1916, Rear-Admiral Caperton had the following notice published in the columns of the *Matin* and the *Nouvelliste:*

Decree of April 5

Rear-Admiral Caperton stated that after having tried for the last three weeks in the most friendly way, with the aid of certain neutral Haitian patriots, to reach an understanding in the conflict of the Haitian Government, it is impossible to find a basis of understanding that could be accepted by the two parties to the controversy.

Consequently, in view of the impossibility of reconciling the Government and the Opposition, in spite of the conciliatory offers made by the Government to the Opposition, he has advised the officers of the Chamber and the Senate which had been dissolved by the decree of April 5, 1916, that his full duty of maintaining peace and order in Haiti rendered it necessary for him to uphold the decree of the constituted and recognized Government of Haiti.

The Haitian Chambers protested against this intervention. On May 5, the Senators were assembling in their provisional quarters when an American officer brutally ordered them to leave the place, threatening violent measures to force them to go. At the suggestion of M. Paul Laraque, President of the Senate, they met at his house, where they drew up a formal account of the incident.[43]

On the next day, May 6, the President of the Senate and the President of the Chamber were summoned by Colonel Waller. He told them that if they persisted in assembling they would expose themselves to violent expulsion.

A few days before on April 20, *Le Constitutionnel*, a paper edited by Deputy Léon Louhis, had been suppressed by Captain Alexander Williams, Provost-Marshal. The Government, supported by the American Occupation, had the last word.

By a decree dated June 23, 1916, President Dartiguenave convoked the Chamber of Deputies as Constituent Assembly for August 14; but the Deputies abstained and refused to accept an unconstitutional mandate.

[43] See Appendix No. 10.

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Discontent was spreading among all classes in the nation, deprived as they were of their legal representatives.

On August 29, Colonel Waller published the following declaration:

Since the mission of Occupation in Haiti is essentially a mission of pacification, work, and progress, it is recalled that no political agitation will be tolerated which tends to provoke manifestations against the express declaration of Admiral Caperton regarding the decree of April 5, 1916, and to compromise, contrary to the terms and spirit of the convention, the stability of the Government of President Dartiguenave, which is the *free expression of the vote of the National Assembly.*

As the authority of the Chamber of Deputies expired on January 10, 1917, there had to be new elections.

On September 22, 1916, the President of the Republic published a decree modifying the electoral law and certain articles of the Constitution relative to the legislative power. He reduced the number of Deputies to thirty-six, and of Senators to fifteen; he fixed the date of the elections for January 15 and 16, 1917; and this time he accepted the reunion of the two branches of the legislative body in the National Assembly for the revision of the Constitution.

The elections took place on January 15, 1917. The new Chambers assembled in April. On April 7, M. Louis Borno, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, received a communication from Mr. Bailly-Blanchard, American Minister. The latter informed him that after a careful examination of the project for the Constitution the State Department had several suggestions which it considered obligatory and which could be submitted to the study and examination of M. Dartiguenave's Government, before any definite action was taken in this respect by the legislative body. He stated at the same time that the suggestions mentioned would be sent by cable. On April 11, the American Minister sent them to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.[44]

On the 24th, the Secretary of State for the Interior, in his turn, sent them to the Committee for Constitutional Reform appointed by the new National Assembly to draw up a project for the Constitution. The Committee had just started its work and had not made any report. It was justly astonished at such suggestions, and on April 30 the Secretary of State for the Interior declared that the project for the Constitution in question was a work of the Council of State.

And the Council of State, an unconstitutional body, had no authority to present a project for the Constitution.

On June 8, the Committee laid before the National Assembly the constitutional project which it had just drawn up, and the discussion began. Since the first days of the meeting of the Chambers rumors of dissolution had been circulating. No one wanted to believe them, especially since the elections had been supervised and controlled by American officers. Ten days after the elections, on January 25, an American squadron, commanded by Admiral Mayo, anchored in the Bay of Port-au-Prince. The next day, January 26, Admiral Mayo, in return for the dinner that was given in his honor, gave a luncheon to M. Sudre Dartiguenave on board the Pennsylvania in the course of which the latter received from Admiral Caperton, Commander of the Pacific division, a radiogram as follows:

I congratulate you, you and the Republic of Haiti, upon the successful outcome of the recent elections, and wish the country continuous prosperity. With my best personal wishes for you and all my friends.

The same day, during a visit to the President of the Republic, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was also on a cruise, made a speech in which he spoke of the interest of the United States for the *sovereign people of Haiti.*[44½]

Thus there was no reason to expect a new attempt against the legislative Chambers. The Haitian Parliament wished, it is true, to give the country a liberal Constitution, and not an undemocratic work which would sanction the despotism of the Government and martial law.

Early on June 19 the legislative building was invaded by police under command of American officers. Without showing any agitation the Deputies and Senators took their seats and resumed the discussion of the project of the Constitution. The vote was still being taken when M. André Chevallier, General Secretary of the Gendarmerie, came to tell the President of the National Assembly, M. Sténio Vincent, that the Chief of the Gendarmerie demanded to see him. Senator Vincent replied that since he was in session he regretted that he could not leave for the moment. M. Chevallier repeated the communication a second and a third time, and received the same reply. In the meantime, the gendarmerie closed the entrance of the legislative building, preventing both the public and the members of the National Assembly from going out. Seeing the impatience that was shown around him, M. Vincent made inquiries to determine the cause of this strange action. Just then Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler burst into the hall, followed by American officers armed with their revolvers, and handed M. Vincent a paper, declaring that it was the decree of the President of Haiti who proclaimed the dissolution of the legislative body. Senator Vincent refused to read it. He returned to his chair, and addressed the National Assembly, declaring that he would not read this act, which was brought, not by a regular agent of the Executive Power, but by the Chief of the Gendarmerie entirely outside of his powers. In the face of the resolute attitude of the Deputies and Senators, who refused to act upon such a document, the gendarmerie decided to open the gates of the legislative building. The same day the editors of all the newspapers were summoned to the gendarmerie where they received a written order to publish nothing whatever concerning the dissolution of the Chambers.

The next day, General Butler had the archives of the two Chambers searched, and removed the reports on the Constitution just voted.

On June 19, 1918, one year after the second dissolution of the Haitian Parliament, President Dartiguenave promulgated another Constitution, voted by a so-called plebiscite. Those who presided over this plebiscite were American officers. They employed force and threats to make the citizens vote.

Read this announcement, published by the *Courier Haïtien* of November 8, 1920:

REPUBLIC OF HAITI

Port-de-Paix, June 11, 1918, 115th year of Independence

In accordance with the Decree of His Excellency, the President of the Republic, published in the *Monitor* of May 8, last, *all the citizens*[45] of the commune of Port-de-Paix *are asked*[45] to be present tomorrow at the Hotel Communal to vote on the new Constitution published in the *Monitor* of the same date.

[44] See Appendix No. 11.

[44½] Italics ours. [45] Italics ours.

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Any abstention from such a solemn occasion will be considered an *unpatriotic*[45] act.

Maintenance of order will be assured by the gendarmerie, and the ballots will be distributed by a member of the administration of finances opposite the voting offices.

The polls will be open from seven o'clock in the morning till five o'clock in the evening.

HERMAN H. HANNEKEN,
Lt. G. d'Haïti.
E. LESCOT,
Government Commissioner, Northwest District.

There was only one kind of ballot, bearing the word "Yes." For purposes of deception, some ballots were distributed with the word "No," but they went to certain paid confederates, in order to give the impression that the number of opponents was insignificant. Spies kept watch over the ballot boxes. Certain officials who, being obliged to vote, had turned in a negative vote, were dismissed from office.[46]

The plebiscite is not one of the Haitian constitutional traditions. The Constitution of 1889 indicated the procedure to be followed in case of revision of the Constitution. But the prescribed procedure was not carried out. What actually happened was that one so-called constitution was substituted for another, and, to give it some appearance of verity, the plebiscite vote was invented.

THE NAVAL COURT OF INQUIRY IN HAITI

When Mr. Daniels, United States Secretary of the Navy, in order to calm the emotion aroused in America by the terrible revelations of the press regarding the acts of the American Occupation in Haiti, announced that he had instituted a Naval Court of Inquiry to throw light on this subject, the public might have believed that it was to be genuine, although, according to certain newspapers, it was to be merely a case of "whitewash." In fact, the high officials of the Navy Department who composed this court might well inspire confidence. They were Admiral Henry T. Mayo, Rear-Admiral James H. Oliver, Major-General Wendell C. Neville, of the Marine Corps, and Major Jesse F. Dyer, as Judge Advocate. The Haitians were the first to believe that a work of truth and justice was at last going to be carried out.

This Naval Court of Inquiry arrived at Port-au-Prince on November 8, 1920.

On the 9th it got in touch with the Haitian Government, and on the same day informed the Haitian public of the names of its members and of the nature of its mission.

"It had come," it said, "to investigate the way in which the forces of the Occupation had carried out their duty, in order to furnish the Secretary of the Navy with complete information on this subject." The terms of this declaration seemed to imply a very broad mission, and the Haitians who were prepared to testify before the Naval Court of Inquiry were anxious to know how it was going to proceed. But not a single rule was ever established for the inquiry, and no form of procedure was indicated. The Court never made known where it would hold its sessions, on what days they would take place, whether they would be public, whether the Court itself would call in witnesses, whether the people who were acquainted with the whole thing, or who were victims of acts at the hands of the forces of Occupation, could go and testify freely before the Court, or what guaranties of safety it offered to Haitian citizens who wished to prove charges of criminal acts against officers who still had military authority, knowing well the cruelty of martial law in the country for the past five years.[47]

November 11, the second anniversary of the World War armistice, was a holiday, and when no newspapers appeared it was generally thought that an announcement from the Court of Inquiry would inform the public the next day how it was going to proceed.

On November 12, instead of the expected note, people were astonished to read in a Port-au-Prince paper, the *Nouvelliste*, of the testimony of President Dartiguenave before the Court:

> From a visit by Mr. Wilbur Forrest, correspondent of the New York *Tribune* [says the *Nouvelliste*], we learn the news that the Court of Inquiry was to hold its first session on November 11, at 10 o'clock in the morning, at the Dessalines Barracks and that His Excellency M. Sudre Dartiguenave was to testify.

No one knew anything about it. Now it happened, according to the *Nouvelliste*, that after this testimony Major Dyer, Judge Advocate, announced "that there were no other witnesses for the present," and the session was adjourned. Did this mean witnesses summoned by the Court, or else persons who had decided on their own initiative to go and testify? No one knew. In any case, how could any one else have gone to witness on that day when it had not been announced anywhere that the Court of Inquiry would hold its first meeting at the Dessalines Barracks on November 11, at 10 o'clock in the morning, or that such persons could go to testify? But when the *Nouvelliste* asked the Judge Advocate for his opinion on this subject, Major Jesse F. Dyer replied:

> *So far*,[48] I have no precise facts, everyone speaks of rumors, and I am looking for *evidence*.[48] I am leaving for the northern towns, and hope to find this evidence; and if no one comes with statements here in Port-au-Prince, in all probability the other sessions of the Court will not be held here, but at the Cape, where we shall go to hear the witnesses we can find in the interior towns.

So, after hearing but a *single*[48] witness, Major Dyer already had concluded that there were no precise facts and merely rumors, and announced that he was leaving for the north of the island, where he hoped to find *evidence*.[48]

Nevertheless, as soon as the Haitians learned that the Court of Inquiry was in session, and where it was being held, from all parts of the country the demand came to be heard.

From the following account of the work (?) of the Court it will be seen that all Haitians who had anything to say regarding the numerous cases of murder, brutality, robbery, rape, arson, etc., that is, Haitians who wished to convince the Court of Inquiry of "the way in which the forces of the Occupation had carried out their duty in Haiti," were systematically excluded. Many of them have published in the press of Haiti the letters which they sent to the Court demanding to be heard.

On November 17 the Court heard Colonel Hooker, of the Haitian gendarmerie, Mr. Harry Lifchitz, Mr. Daggett, Colonel Little, Lieut. Lang, and a Haitian gendarme named Adolphe Burgot.

Colonel Hooker spoke chiefly of the attack of Port-au-Prince by the "Cacos" on January 15, 1920, declaring that

[45] Italics ours.
[46] See Appendix No. 12.
[47] See Appendix No. 13.
[48] Italics ours.

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all the victims of this unlucky day—that is, 66 Haitians—were assailants (?).

Mr. Harry Lifchitz accused Lieut. Haski Koff of having killed a gendarme at Cayes with a revolver, Lieut. Barrett of having killed a Haitian civilian at Aquin, and ended his testimony by exposing the case of a woman who was beaten to death at Saint-Louis-du-Sud.

Colonel Little accused a naval pharmacist, Mr. Thompson, of having murdered a judge at Las Cahobas.

The other witnesses testified on the case of Lieut. Lang, accused of having killed three prisoners with his own hand at Hinche, making them go out of the prison one at a time, firing a revolver-shot in the back of each one.

On November 18 there was another investigation of Lieut. Lang's case. The Court heard Mr. Grant, gendarmes Adolphe Burgot and Meratus. The two latter confirmed the charges brought against Lieut. Lang.

On November 19 gendarmes Carmelus Monfiston, Petit Daubrave, Eugene Jean, and Carius Absolu testified against Lieut. Lang regarding the affair of the murder of the prisoners at Hinche. Gendarme Petit Daubrave accused Lang of having killed, to his knowledge, five prisoners, detailing all the circumstances of these crimes. Mr. Daggett, who was hesitant during the first investigation, reappeared on the scene and stated that Lang had killed some prisoners. Théomène Rouchon, former gendarme at Milot, declared that Lang had killed the prisoner Teka with a machine gun under a mango tree.

On November 20 the Court held a short session and heard the testimony of gendarme Siméon Gabeau regarding the terrible circumstances of the assassination of the notary Jean Garnier, a peaceful citizen of Maissade, by Lieut. Williams.

Lang asked to present a memorandum on his case, which he obtained, and the Court went into secret sessions.

On November 22 the Court continued Lieut. Lang's case. Then it heard Colonel Hooker, of the Haitian gendarmerie, who spoke in favor of Haski Koff, lieutenant at Cayes, and Dr. Louis Gille, who testified in his turn in favor of Barrett, lieutenant at Aquin.

In the sessions of November 29 and 31 the Court devoted its time to new testimony regarding the murder of the notary Jean Garnier of Maissade.

And this was all. This Naval Court, which had been talked of in the United States, probably at the suggestion of Mr. Daniels, as the greatest naval commission formed since the one charged with inquiring into the conditions of the naval battle of Santiago-de-Cuba, this Naval Court of Inquiry in reality inquired only into the charges brought against Lieuts. Lang and Williams. Up till the last minute people thought it was going to Cap-Haitien and various other towns in the north of the island to continue the investigation, especially since Major Jesse F. Dyer had publicly declared so. Moreover, during the first two weeks of November, Admiral Knapp had gone to Cap-Haitien, and called the people to the Union Club, asking them to expose their grievances against the Occupation without fear of reprisals. At this meeting the principal personages of the town of Cap-Haitien spoke: M. W. Leconte, former State Secretary of the Interior, spoke of the murderous regime in the prisons. M. Adhémar Auguste, former mayor of the town, pointed out that the horrible system of the *corvée was the only cause of the uprising of the "Cacos."* M. L. Duvivier told of the slaughter of Haitians in the streets of Cap Haitien during the night of Christmas, 1919. M. Charles Zamor exposed great wrongs done by certain officers of the gendarmerie, and M. Dacosta, a merchant, denounced the abuses at the Cap Haitien custom house. Other people tried to make their complaints heard. But Admiral Knapp announced that he himself had no authority to carry on the investigation, that he had merely come to prepare the way for the Court of Inquiry, and that all those who had complaints to make would soon have the opportunity of being heard before this Court.

Judge Advocate Major Jesse F. Dyer and Admiral Knapp had, then, both announced, some days apart, the intention of the Court of Inquiry to go to Cap-Haitien to continue the investigation. And yet the Court did not go. Why? Mr. Daniels and the members of the Naval Court of Inquiry alone can explain this mystery.

Meanwhile, by November 26, the Haitian public found out, in an indirect way, that this investigation, announced with such flourish in the United States, was nothing more than a joke, unworthy of the American Administration which had sent it, and unacceptable to the great American people who demanded truth and justice, and who, we are convinced, will want the truth to be known and justice to triumph at any price. In fact, in the course of interviews which took place between the editors of the *Courier Haitien* and the American correspondents at Port-au-Prince it was alleged by one of them that the powers of the Naval Court of Inquiry were so limited that they did not, in reality, permit it to make any investigation. The Haitian people had no authoritative information on the subject.

Nevertheless, when, on November 30, in the evening, the Niagara left the waters of Port-au-Prince, bearing with it the Naval Court of Inquiry, the news of its departure caused general surprise and profound indignation. To calm the Haitians they were given to understand, by notices adroitly slipped into the newspapers, that the Niagara was going to coal at Guantanamo and that from there the Naval Court of Inquiry was going to Cap-Haitien.

On December 2 a group of Port-au-Prince citizens, feeling that the comedy had gone too far and that it was unworthy to play with a whole people in this way, sent a cablegram to the Secretary of the Navy informing him that the Naval Court of Inquiry had left without having fulfilled its duty, that a number of complainants had not been heard, etc. Mr. Daniels hastened to reply, by the following communication, published in the *Courier Haitien:*

Citizens of Port-au-Prince [49]

Referring to your communication relative to the Naval Court, I have directed Vice-Admiral Knapp to carry on any investigation considered necessary concerning the United States marines; and all the cases that you may wish to have submitted to him.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

Washington, December 2, 1920

Vain hopes! Admiral Knapp did even much less than the Naval Court of Inquiry, in that he did nothing, absolutely nothing at all; he never informed the Haitian people of the new mission which had been confided to him, he never heard a single witness, and he continued to enjoy his winter quarters in peace in the harbor of Port-au-Prince.

The behavior of the Naval Court of Inquiry in Haiti which we have just set forth was even more surprising because the mandate of this Court had been established by

[49] Message retranslated from the French.

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Mr. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, as follows:

Precept of the Court of Inquiry
Department of the Navy

Washington, October 16, 1920.

To: Rear-Admiral Henry T. Mayo, United States Navy.

Subject: Court of Inquiry to inquire into the alleged indiscriminate killing of Haitians and unjustifiable acts by members of the United States naval service, including those detailed to duty with the gendarmerie d'Haïti against the persons and property of Haitians since the American Occupation, July 28, 1915.

1. A court of Inquiry, consisting of yourself as President, and of Rear-Admiral James H. Oliver, United States Navy, and Major General W. C. Neville, United States Marine Corps, as additional members and of Major Jesse F. Dyer, United States Marine Corps, as Judge Advocate, is hereby ordered to convene at the Navy Department, Washington, D. C., Friday, October 22, 1920, or as soon thereafter as practicable, and thereafter at such places as may be deemed necessary to inquire into the question of the conduct of the personnel of the United States Naval Service in Haiti since the marines were landed in that country on July 28, 1915, with the view to determining whether *any unjustifiable homicide has been committed by any of such personnel, whether any other unjustifiable acts of oppression or violence have been perpetrated against any of the citizens of Haiti, or any unjustifiable damage or destruction of their property has occurred.*[50]

According to the mandate of the Naval Court of Inquiry, it was to make a report on its findings and the degree of responsibility attached to each act, and on all persons immediately or indirectly responsible for such unjustifiable acts.

And no report of this Court has been published. The "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1920" contains all the reports on Haitian affairs except the report of the Naval Court of Inquiry. Would it not be a good idea to publish this report in the interest of truth and justice?

The Naval Court of Inquiry did not reply to the letters, often confirmed by follow-up letters, which were addressed to it by those who wanted to be heard. Certain complainants were obliged to resort to the press to make known the wrongs of which they or their relatives were victims.

The Haitian people feel that if the Naval Court of Inquiry has not fulfilled in Haiti the broad mandate conferred upon it by Mr. Josephus Daniels, it is because it was faced with charges of such a horrible nature that it thought best to pass them over in silence. And this is why the tactics of the Navy Department have been and still are to consider the "incident" as closed. This cannot be. The voice of truth and justice cannot be stilled. The Haitian people awaits with confidence an honest, impartial, and thorough investigation.

In Haiti numberless abominable crimes have been committed. To give some idea of their horror we cite *only* a few cases made public through the press which the Naval Court did not feel the need to investigate.

1. Hanging of M. Cicéron Lacroix, execution of Léon Moricet, Téca, and other persons in October and November, 1918, by Lieut. Lang, acts denounced to the Naval Court of Inquiry by M. Philocles Lacroix in his letter of October 20, 1920.

2. Execution of the Péralte brothers by Lieut. Wallace at Mirebalais in December, 1918. Here are the names of those shot: Philoxène Péralte, Emmanuel Péralte, Péralte Junior, and Léosthène Péralte.

3. Execution by the Marines of Joseph Marseille and his two sons, Michel and Estima Marseille, of Princivil Mesadieux, Baye section, district of Mirebalais; assassination by the marines of Guerrier Josaphat and one of his children, aged 14, in his own house, acts denounced by M. Louis Charles, Sr., December 8, 1920.

4. Arrest by an American officer, and mysterious disappearance, of M. Charrite Fleuristone, former school inspector at Chappelle, district of Saint Marc. He was arrested in the first part of 1919, at the same time as MM. Jean Baptiste and Clément Clerjeune.

5. At Marin, district of Mirebalais, in December, 1919, assassination and mutilation of Joseph Duclerc, a respectable old man of sixty, by marines and gendarmes. After the crime they burned his cottage.

6. At the same time and in the same section the same group fired on a school-teacher and wounded her in the mouth. She managed to escape. The marines and gendarmes burned her house as well as everything that went with it. They were accompanied by an American officer, a lieutenant, whose name can be established by an investigation.

7. Near Marin, at Collier, district of Mirebalais, the same band cut the head off a blind man named Néis, 25 years old, and did the same thing to a child who was with him, named Jules Louisville.

8. At Marin, at the same time, another group of gendarmes and marines assaulted Mathieu Cadet, aged 55, in his house, shooting him. Although wounded in the shoulder, he was able to escape his assailants through a concealed door. His house was robbed and burned. The gendarme Joanis took off a mule belonging to Mathieu.

9. In January, 1919, at Noailles some marines and gendarmes coming from Beaurepos killed Jean Luc, an invalid. Torn from his house, firearms were emptied into his body. His house was robbed and burned.

10. On the same day the same band of marines and gendarmes surprised Esca Estinfil in his house at Caye-Beau with his young sons. They shot all three, father and children. Then they robbed his house and burned it. Esca was a great planter, and had a large quantity of coffee stored, and a good sum of money ready for commercial transactions.

11. On January 25, 1919, at "Savane Longue," near Marin, a group of marines and gendarmes coming from Terre-Rouge, district of Mirebalais, killed Hon. Auré Bayard, who was ill in bed. They pulled him from his bed, and shot him through and through. The house was robbed and burned. Then they forced Madame Auré Bayard, by striking her with the butt ends of their rifles, to take the things that they had just stolen and carry them along with them. It was not until the next day that the poor woman could render her last services to her husband.

12. On January 30 some marines and gendarmes, led by spies named Néis (des Orangers) and Auré Fleury (du Carrefour grand-mât), killed a pregnant woman in a place called Thomaus. The cottage was robbed.

13. In December, 1919, some marines and gendarmes coming from Saut d'Eau or Mirebalais arrived at the second section of the Crochus, district of Mirebalais, and shot, at Beauvoir, Saint-Félix Geffrard, who lived with his two little daughters aged 8 and 12 years. The terrified children managed to escape the shots of the assassins.

14. On the same day, at Beauvoir, the same band robbed

[50] Italics ours. See "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1920," p. 315.

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the cottage of Tinhomme Saint-Félix, then shot him and burned his corpse.

15. On the same day, at Beauvoir, the same band killed a respectable old man named Saintime Vernet. His cottage was robbed. Then the band burned the little village of Beauvoir.

16. No attention was paid to a denunciation by M. Paul Bayard, sent to the Naval Court of Inquiry in a letter dated November 26, relative to the crimes enumerated below, committed by the Haitian sergeant of the gendarmerie, Maurice Lafontant, by the American captains, O'Neil and Verdier, and by the American lieutenant, Rogers, at Montagne, Goanau and Serin neighborhood, district of Jacmel (a section where there have never been any of the so-called "Cacos"): (1) Thirty-eight houses burned; (2) assassination of Michel Jean François, age 74 years—his house was burned; (3) Paul Bayard, wounded by two bullets, one in his thigh and the other in his abdomen—his house was burned; (4) assassination of Enélien Ladouceur; (5) Francisque Gabriel, wounded by one bullet in the thigh.

17. Bodily tortures were inflicted by the American captain of gendarmerie, Fitzgerald Brown, upon M. Polydor St. Pierre, clerk of the St. Marc police court, in the prison of that town. He was arrested on January 3, 1919, on a false charge of theft, and was imprisoned for six months. Brown administered the "water cure" to him and burned his body with a red-hot iron; to say nothing of the beatings and other tortures which he inflicted upon him. St. Pierre vainly begged a hearing from the Naval Court of Inquiry.

18. Executions by night at St. Marc during the first months of 1919 in the localities known as "Grosses Roches" and "Gros-Morne" by Captain Fitzgerald Brown.

19. Hanging of Fabre Yoyo from a mango tree on March 13, 1919, at Pivert, on property belonging to the Orius Paultre family of St. Marc; execution on this same property this same day of two young boys of fourteen and fifteen years, Nicolas Yoyo and Salnave Charlot, by Captain Fitzgerald Brown.

20. Among the crimes perpetrated in the region of Hinche, Maissade, from 1916 to 1919, by Lieutenants Lang and Williams, acts little known, and denounced by M. Méresse Wooley, former Mayor of Hinche, on December 10, 1920, in the *Courier Haitien*, are the following: (1) M. Onexil hanged and burned alive in his house at Lauhaudiagne; (2) execution of Madame Eucharice Cadichon at Mamon; (3) execution of Madame Romain Brigade at l'Hermitte, near Maissade; (4) execution of Madame Prevoit with a baby of a few months at "Savane-à-Lingue" on her own property.

21. Madame Garnier, widow of the notary who was killed by Lieut. Williams at Maissade, told Judge Advocate Dyer privately, on November 27, 1920, of the shooting of Madame Lumenesse, mother of eight children, by Lieut. Williams of the Haitian gendarmerie. Madame Garnier's declaration was published in the *Courier Haitien* of December 18, 1920.

22. Execution of General Saül Péralte, near the Canary, by gendarme Lamartine Toussaint, assisted by the American Lieutenant Vernon, and ordered by the American Captain Verdier, published in the *Courier Haitien*.

23. Arrest of Cadéus Bellegarde and cruelty inflicted upon him by the American Lieut. Dukela on December 2, 1919, at Saut-d'Eau, district of Mirebalais. According to a complaint made before a Haitian court, on December 8, 1920, and published in the *Courier Haitien* of February 9, 1921, Cadéus Bellegarde accused Lieut. Dukela of having burned ten of his houses and stolen all of his property, including twelve horses, three mules, seventy oxen, etc., etc.

24. In a letter published February 22, 1921, in the *Courier Haitien*, dated at Belladere January 31, 1921, M. Casimir, Jr., gives the following list of Haitians executed at Belladere by certain officers and soldiers of the Marine Corps: Gabriel Morette, Saint-For Jean-Baptiste, Frésirus Dufresin, Elie Ladomate, Bristoul Michel, Achille Vincent, Lorme Lorendou, Petika Casian, Normelus Saint-Charles, Adou Domingue, Aritus Domingue, Erisma Barau, Ehelusma Barau, Ocean Noisette, Surprilus Vilette, Saint-Pierre Infine, Monexa Chitry, Salomon Suprien, Fleury Pierre, a small daughter of M. Raymond Dominique, Lami Pinal, Lhérisson Pinal, Marcelus Joseph and his son, Georges Ledou, Francisque Contraire, Princy Lachapelle, Céus Grandin, Jocelin, Jr., Saint-Uma Pierre, Elie Morette, Stiven Calixte, Barjon Charles, Dumorne Vincent, Jr., Juste Glodin, Donil Cyriaque. M. Casimir, Jr., gave also the names of forty-eight proprietors whose houses and fields had been burned by certain officers and soldiers of the Marine Corps in the commune of Belladere.

25. In a petition addressed on December 16, 1920, to M. Barnave Dartiguenave, State Secretary of the Interior for Haiti, by the members of the League for the Public Good, at Cap-Haitien, whose President is Pastor Auguste Albert of the Baptist Church, which petition was published in the *Courier Haitien* on February 26, 1921, we notice the following facts:

(a) In the prisons of Cap-Haitien, during the years 1918, 1919, and 1920, more than four thousand prisoners died.

(b) At Chabert, an American camp, 5,475 prisoners died during these three years, the average being five deaths a day.

(c) At Cap-Haitien, in 1919, eight corpses of prisoners a day were thrown into the pits.

(d) The mortality rate is just as high in the prisons of Port-au-Prince and Gonaives.

(e) At Cap-Haitien, out of 500 prisoners, the average mortality is four a day, i. e., 24 per cent per month, or only 1 per cent less a quarter of this whole number.

(f) Before American Occupation and the seizure of the prisons by the American officers the number of prisoners in the Cap-Haitien prison did not exceed, on an average, forty a year.

(g) At this time, the mortality rarely reached the number of four prisoners a year.

The ghastly mortality in the prisons together with confirmation by survivors reveals a record of atrocities, of brutality, and cruelty which defies description. It is a record for which it would be difficult to find a parallel.

CONCLUSION

The Haitian Republic was the second nation of the New World—second only to the United States—to conquer its national independence. We have our own history, our own traditions, customs, and national spirit, our own institutions, laws, and social and political organization, our own culture, our own literature (French language), and our own religion. For 111 years the little Haitian nation has managed its own affairs; for 111 years it has made the necessary effort for its material, intellectual, and moral development as well as any other nation—better than any other

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nation, because it has been from the start absolutely alone in its difficult task, without any aid from the outside, bearing with it along the harsh road of civilization the glorious misery of its beginning. And then, one fine day, under the merest pretext, without any possible explanation or justification on the grounds of *violation of any American right or interest*, American forces landed on our national territory and actually abolished the sovereignty and independence of the Haitian Republic.

We have just given an account of the chief aspects of the American Military Occupation in our country since July 28, 1915.

It is the most terrible regime of military autocracy which has ever been carried on in the name of the great American democracy.

The Haitian people, during these past five years, has passed through such sacrifices, tortures, destructions, humiliations, and misery as have never before been known in the course of its unhappy history.

The American Government, in spite of the attitude of wisdom, moderation, and even submission which it has always found in dealing with the Haitian Government, has never lived up to any of the agreements which it had solemnly entered into with regard to the Haitian people.

The Haitian people is entitled to reparations for the wrongs and injuries committed against it.

The great American people can only honor themselves and rise in universal esteem by hastening the restoration of justice—of all the justice due a weak and friendly nation which the agents of its Government have systematically abused.

Reparations are due for the human lives that have been taken and for the property that has been destroyed or abstracted. An impartial investigation will provide the necessary statements and supply the basis for the estimates to be determined.

The present political aspirations of the Haitian nation have been formulated by the Union Patriotique, a comprehensive national association which, through its numerous branches throughout the country and in all levels of society, includes virtually all the Haitian people. The undersigned have been sent to the United States by this association to make the will of the country clearly known.

The Haitian people are filled with peaceful sentiments, but there is no doubt that they intend to recover definitely the administration of their own affairs and to resume under their own responsibility the entire life of the country, with full sovereignty and independence. They will never rest until they have obtained them.

The salient aspirations of the Haitian people are summarized as follows:

1. Immediate abolition of martial law and courts martial.
2. Immediate reorganization of the Haitian police and military forces, and withdrawal within a short period of the United States Military Occupation.
3. Abrogation of the convention of 1915.
4. Convocation within a short period of a Constituent Assembly, with all the guaranties of electoral liberty.

But the Haitian people desire too strongly the friendship of the great American people, and are too anxious for their own material, intellectual, and moral development not to wish and bespeak for themselves the impartial and altruistic aid of the United States Government. They have urgent needs, vital to the development of the natural resources of the country and essential to the full expansion of its agricultural, industrial, and commercial activity. The satisfying of these needs is absolutely necessary for the continued progress of the Haitian community.

Nothing would serve better to bring about the speedy reestablishment of normal relations between the two countries than the friendly aid of the United States Government in the economic prosperity and social progress of the Haitian Republic.

H. Pauléus Sannon
Sténio Vincent
Perceval Thoby

Appendixes

APPENDIX NO. 1

Legation of the United States of America,
Port-au-Prince, Haiti, December 10, 1914.

Outline of a Draft of a Convention
Between
The United States and the Republic of Haiti

Preamble

The United States and the Republic of Haiti, desiring to confirm and strengthen the amity existing between them by the most cordial cooperation in measures for their common advantage, and the Republic of Haiti desiring to remedy the present unsatisfactory condition of its revenues and finances, to check the loss of much of its revenues due in part to internal disturbances, to provide against injudicious increase of its public debt, to inaugurate a comprehensive system of public accounts and audits, to make adequate provision to meet its exterior debts, to maintain the tranquillity of the Republic, to carry out plans for the economic development and prosperity of the Republic and its people, to strengthen its credit, and generally to fix and maintain its finances upon a firm and stable basis, and the United States being in full sympathy with all of these aims and objects and desiring to contribute in all proper ways to their accomplishment:

The United States and the Republic of Haiti, having resolved to conclude a convention with these objects in view, have appointed for that purpose plenipotentiaries, on the part of the United States and on the part of the Republic of Haiti, who having exhibited to each other their respective powers which are seen to be full in good and true form, have agreed as follows:

1. The President of the United States shall appoint a General Receiver, who, with such assistants and employees as the President of the United States may appoint or authorize, shall collect, receive, and apply all customs duties on imports and exports accruing at the several custom houses and ports of entry of the Republic of Haiti; and if he shall deem it necessary and expedient, or if the Haitian Government shall request, the President of the United States shall designate a Financial Adviser to the Republic of Haiti who shall devise an adequate system of public accounting, aid in increasing the revenues and adjusting them to the expenses, inquire into the validity of the debts of the Republic, enlighten both Governments with reference to all eventual debts, recommend improved methods of collecting and applying the revenues, and generally exercise the functions of a comptroller of accounts.

2. The Government of the Republic of Haiti will provide by law or appropriate decrees for the payment of all customs duties to the General Receiver, and will extend to the Receivership all needful aid and full protection in its execution of the powers

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conferred and duties imposed herein; and the United States on its part will extend like aid and protection.

3. Upon the appointment of the General Receiver, the Government of the Republic of Haiti in cooperation with the General Receiver shall collect, classify, arrange, and make full statement of all the debts of the Republic, the amounts, character, maturity, and condition thereof, the interest accruing, and the sinking fund requisite to their final discharge.

4. All sums collected and received by the General Receiver shall be applied by him first, to the payment of the salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employees, and expenses of the Receivership, including the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, if one shall be appointed; second, to the interest and sinking fund of the public debt of the Republic of Haiti; and, third, the remainder to the Haitian Government for purposes of current expenses.

In making these applications the General Receiver will proceed to pay salaries and allowances monthly and expenses as they arise, and on the first of each calendar month will set aside in a separate fund the quantum of the collections and receipts of the previous month found to be a fair contribution to the ultimate sum required to meet interest and provide the sinking funds.

5. The expenses of the Receivership, including salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employees, shall not exceed five per cent of the collections and receipts from custom duties, unless by agreement of the two Governments.

6. The General Receiver shall make monthly reports of all collections, receipts, and disbursements to the appropriate officer of the Republic of Haiti and to the Department of State of the United States, which reports shall be open to inspection and verification at all times by the appropriate authorities of each of the said Governments.

7. The Republic of Haiti shall not increase its public debt except by previous agreement with the President of the United States and shall not contract any debt or assume any financial obligation unless the ordinary revenues of the Republic available for that purpose after defraying the expenses of the Government shall be adequate to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the final discharge of such debt.

8. The Republic of Haiti will not, without the assent of the President of the United States, modify the customs duties in a manner to reduce the revenues therefrom; and in order that the revenues of the Republic may be adequate to meet the public debt and the expenses of the Government, to preserve tranquillity, and to promote material prosperity, the Republic of Haiti will cooperate with the Financial Adviser, if one is appointed, in his recommendations for improvement in the methods of collecting and disbursing the revenues and for new sources of needed income.

9. The United States shall have authority to prevent any and all interferences with the receipt, collection, or free course of the customs, or, with the free exercise of any of the powers conferred or duties imposed herein upon the Receivership or with the attainment of any of the objects comprehended in this convention.

10. This agreement shall continue in force for a period of —— years from and after its ratification by the contracting parties in accordance with their respective laws.

APPENDIX NO. 2

WHEREAS, The President of the United States of America and the President of the Republic of Haiti are animated by the desire to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries, and

WHEREAS, The High Contracting Parties realize the mutual advantages which would lie in more intimate commercial and financial relations, and

WHEREAS, The President of the Republic of Haiti has expressed his sincere desire and firm intention to guarantee the honest and efficient administration of a Government in Haiti according to the Constitution and laws of that Republic, Government which will give expression to the will of the people of Haiti, protect their rights and interests, and respect international obligations, and

WHEREAS, It is the mutual desire of the High Contracting Parties that there shall exist between the American Minister Plenipotentiary—hereafter to be appointed—and the President of Haiti such an intimate and confidential relationship as will enable the American Minister Plenipotentiary to advise as to such matters as affect the honest and efficient administration of the Government, the President of Haiti agreeing that he will follow the advice so given to the extent of requiring honesty and efficiency in officials and of removing those found to be dishonest and inefficient;

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Republic of Haiti have resolved to enter into a convention for that purpose and have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit:

The President of the United States of America, the Hon. Paul Fuller, Jr., United States Commissioner with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

The President of the Republic of Haiti, the Honorable Ulrick Duvivier, Secretary of State for Foreign Relations;

Who, after exchange of their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have in consideration of and in compensation for the respective concession and engagements made by each to the other as herein recited, agreed and do hereby agree as follows, to wit:

1. The Government of the United States of America will protect the Republic of Haiti from outside attack, and from the aggression of any foreign Power, and to that end will employ such forces of the Army and Navy of the United States as may be necessary.

2. The Government of the United States of America will aid the Government of Haiti to suppress insurrection from within and will give effective support by the employment of the armed forces of the United States Army and Navy to the extent needed.

3. The President of the Republic of Haiti covenants that no rights, privileges, or facilities of any description whatsoever will be granted, sold, leased, or otherwise accorded directly or indirectly by the Government of Haiti concerning the occupation or use of the Môle Saint-Nicholas to any foreign government or to a national or the nationals of any other foreign government.

4. The President of the Republic of Haiti covenants that within six months from the signing of this convention the Government will enter into an arbitration agreement for the settlement of such claims as American citizens or other foreigners may have against the Government of Haiti, such arbitration agreement to provide for the equal treatment of all foreigners to the end that the people of Haiti may have the benefit of competition between the nationals of all countries.

The present convention shall be ratified by the appropriate authorities of the respective countries and the ratification shall be exchanged at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, as soon as may be after the.....day of..... nineteen hundred and fifteen.

In witness whereof we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed the same in duplicate, in English and in French, and have affixed our respective seals, at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, this .....day of May in the year one thousand nine hundred and fifteen.

APPENDIX NO. 3

COUNTER-PROJECT

To the Convention Project Presented by Mr. Fuller

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Republic of Haiti, desiring to strengthen the bonds of friendship which exist between the two countries;

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The High Contracting Parties being convinced of the advantages they would obtain through closer commercial and financial relations; considering that the introduction of capital into Haiti would be sufficiently profitable, and that it would be assured of all the necessary guaranties, and is recognized as indispensable to the economic development of Haiti;

The President of the Republic of Haiti, constitutionally elected, who has shown by the acts already accomplished by his Government his sincere desire to assure the country, through complete and faithful execution of the laws, of a wise, regular, and honorable administration, capable of assuring as much protection as possible to legitimate interests, both national and foreign;

The President of the United States of America, with views in harmony with those of the Government of the Haitian Republic and disposed to lend it all the assistance and aid necessary to the conservation of its independence, and to permit its free development;

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Republic of Haiti have resolved to conclude with these aims a convention, and have named for their respective plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, the Hon. Paul Fuller, Special Envoy of the United States, ranking as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

The President of the Republic of Haiti, Hon. Ulrick Duvivier, State Secretary of Foreign Affairs;

Who, after exchange of their full respective powers, found in good and due form, have accepted and hereby accept what follows:

1. The Government of the United States of America agrees to lend its aid to the Republic of Haiti for the conservation of its independence.

With this object, it binds itself to intervene to prevent any intrusion of any foreign Power in the affairs of Haiti and to repulse any act of aggression attempted against this country.

It shall employ for this purpose such forces of the army and navy of the United States as are necessary.

2. The Government of the United States shall facilitate the entrance into Haiti of sufficient capital to assure the full economic development of this country, to improve within a very short period its financial situation, especially to bring about the unification of its debt in such a way as to reduce the customs guaranties which are affected by it at present, and to carry out an effective monetary reform.

In order to grant to capital all desirable guaranties, the Government of Haiti agrees to employ in the custom houses as well as in collectors' offices and others only Haitian officials whose morality and capability are well known.

The lenders may be consulted regarding the choice of the higher custom officials.

The Haitian Government shall also assure protection to capital and to all foreign interests in general by the organization of a rural horse guard, instructed according to the most modern methods.

Meanwhile, it may, if necessary, resort to the aid of the American Government in order to check disorders and serious troubles which might compromise foreign interests.

The American forces which would, if the case should come up, cooperate with Haitian troops for the reestablishment of order, must be withdrawn from Haitian territory at the first demand of the constitutional authorities.

3. The President of the Republic of Haiti agrees not to grant any rights, privileges, or facilities whatsoever on the Saint-Nicholas Môle, nor to concede, sell, rent, or otherwise permit, directly or indirectly, the occupation or use of the Saint-Nicholas Môle to any government, to any national or nationals of any government.

4. The President of the Republic of Haiti agrees, within six months of the ratification of the present convention, to sign a convention of arbitration with the Powers concerned, for the settlement of pending diplomatic claims, which convention of arbitration shall recognize equal treatment to all claimants, that is to say, that no privilege for the profit of any of them shall be recognized.

The present convention shall be ratified by the competent authorities in the two countries, and the exchange of ratifications shall be made at Port-au-Prince as soon as possible after the .....

Presented on June 2, 1915.

APPENDIX NO. 4 [51]

Texte Proposé par la Légation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique Aout 1915

MEMORANDUM

(Copie-traduction)

En vue de l'attitude amicale montrée par le Gouvernement haïtien, le Chargé d'Affaires par interim des Etats-Unis a reçu instruction de rédiger et de soumettre officieusement au Président de la République d'Haïti, sans délai, le projet de traité ci-joint et de l'informer que le Département d'Etat à Washington croit que l'Assemblée Nationale haïtienne, garante de la sincérité et de l'intérêt des haïtiens, voudra voter immédiatement une résolution autorisant le Président d'Haïti à accepter *sans modification*, le traité suivant:

Projet de Convention entre les Etats-Unis et la République d'Haïti

PREAMBULE

Les Etats-Unis et la République d'Haïti, désireux d'affermir et de fortifier l'amitié existant entre eux par une plus cordiale coopération à des mesures pour leur avantage commun, et la République d'Haïti désirant remédier à la situation de ses finances qui n'est pas satisfaisante, empêcher la perte de beaucoup de ses revenus, due en partie aux troubles intérieurs, prendre des dispositions contre l'augmentation peu judicieuse de sa dette publique, inaugurer un système compréhensible pour l'examen et la tenue de la comptabilité publique, faire provision suffisante pour le service de ses dettes extérieures, maintenir la tranquillité de la République, exécuter des projets pour le développement économique et la prospérité de la République et du peuple haïtiens, consolider son crédit et en général asseoir et maintenir ses finances sur une base solide et stable, les Etats-Unis sympathisant entièrement avec toutes ces vues et ces objets, et désireux de contribuer à leur réalisation par tous les moyens convenables;

Les Etats-Unis et la République d'Haïti, ayant résolu de conclure une convention ayant ces objets en vue, ont nommé à cet effet comme Plénipotentiares, les Etats-Unis, Mr..... et Haïti , Mr..... lesquels s'étant mutuellement communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs respectifs trouvés en bonne et due forme, ont convenu ce qui suit:

1. Le Président des Etats-Unis nommera un receveur général, qui, avec tels aides et employés que le Président des Etats-Unis pourra nommer ou autoriser, recouvrera, recevra et appliquera tous les droits de douane tant à l'importation qu'à l'exportation provenant des diverses douanes et ports d'entrée de la République d'Haïti. Le Président des Etats-Unis désignera à la République d'Haïti un conseiller financier qui élaborera un système adéquat de comptabilité publique, aidera à l'augmentation des revenus et à leur ajustement aux dépenses, enquêtera sur la validité des dettes de la République, éclairera les deux Gouvernements relativement à toutes dettes éventuelles, recommandera des méthodes perfectionnées d'encaisser et d'appliquer les revenus, et en général exercera les fonctions d'un contrôleur.

2. Le Gouvernement de la République d'Haïti pourvoiera par une loi ou par un décret approprié, à ce que le paiement de tous les droits de douane soit fait au receveur général, et il accor-

[51] This is a translation into French, published at Port-au-Prince, of the original English text which is not now available.

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dera au bureau de la recette et au conseiller financier toute l'aide et la protection nécessaires à l'exécution des pouvoirs qui lui sont conférés et à l'accomplissement des devoirs qui lui sont imposés par les présents; les Etats-Unis, de leur côté, accorderont la même aide et la même protection.

3. A la nomination du conseiller financier, le Gouvernement de la République d'Haïti, avec la coopération du conseiller financier, collationnera, classera, arrangera et fera un relevé complet de toutes les dettes de la République, de leur montant, caractère, écheance et condition, intérêts y afférents, et amortissement nécessaire à leur complet paiement.

4. Toutes les valeurs recouvrées et encaissées par le receveur général seront appliquées: premièrement au paiement des appointements et allocations du receveur général, de ses auxiliaires et employés, et les dépenses du bureau de la recette comprendront les appointements et les dépenses du conseiller financier; deuxièmement, à l'intérêt et à l'amortissement de la dette publique de la République d'Haïti; troisièmement à l'entretien de la police visée à l'article huit et alors le reste, au Gouvernement haïtien pour les dépenses courantes.

En faisant ces applications, le receveur général procédera au paiement des appointements et allocations mensuelles et des dépenses telles qu'elles se présentent, et au premier de chaque mois, il mettra à un compte spécial le montant des recouvrements et recettes du mois précédent.

5. Les dépenses du bureau de la recette, y compris les appointements et allocations du receveur général, de ses auxiliaires et employés, ne devront pas dépasser cinq pour cent des recouvrements et recettes provenant des droits de douane, à moins d'une convention entre les deux Gouvernements.

6. Le receveur général fera un rapport mensuel au fonctionnaire haïtien compétent et au Département d'Etat des Etats-Unis sur tous les recouvrements, les recettes et les dépenses; ces rapports seront soumis à l'inspection et à la vérification des autorités compétentes de chacun des dits Gouvernements.

La République d'Haïti ne devra pas augmenter sa dette ni assumer aucune obligation financière à moins que, les dépenses du Gouvernement défrayées, les revenus de la République disponibles à cette fin, soient suffisants pour payer les intérêts et pourvoir à un amortissement pour l'extinction complète d'une telle dette.

7. La République d'Haïti, sans l'assentiment du Président des Etats-Unis, ne modifiera pas les droits de duane d'une façon qui en réduise les revenus, et afin que les revenus de la République soient suffisants pour faire face à la dette publique et aux dépenses du Gouvernement, pour préserver la tranquillité et promouvoir la prospérité matérielle, la République d'Haïti coopérera avec le conseiller financier suivant ses recommendations relatives à l'amélioration des méthodes de recouvrer, de dépenser les revenus, et à la création des sources nouvelles de revenus qui feront besoin.

8. Le Gouvernement haïtien, en vue de la préservation de la paix intérieure, de la sécurité des droits individuels et de la complète observance des dispositions de ce traité, s'engage à créer sans délai une police efficace, composée d'haïtiens. Cette police sera organisée par des américains qui en seront les officiers, désignés par le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et que le Gouvernement haïtien nommera et revêtira de l'autorité voulue et nécessaire, et soutiendra dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions. La police ici prévue aura, sous la direction du Gouvernement haïtien, la surveillance et le contrôle des armes et munitions, des articles militaires et du commerce qui s'en fait dans tout le pays. Les stipulations de cet article sont nécessaires pour prévenir les luttes des factions et les désordres.

9. Le Gouvernement d'Haïti convient de ne céder aucune partie du territoire de la République d'Haïti par vente, bail ou autrement, ni conférer juridiction sur tel territoire à aucune Puissance ou Gouvernement étrangers, excepté aux Etats-Unis, ni signer avec aucune autre puissance, ni autres puissances, aucun traité ni contrat qui diminuera ou tendra à diminuer l'indépendance d'Haïti.

10. Le Gouvernement haïtien convient de signer avec les Etats-Unis un protocole pour le réglement, par arbitrage ou autrement, de toutes les réclamations pécuniaires pendantes entre les corporations, compagnies, citoyens ou sujets étrangers et Haïti.

11. La République d'Haïti désirant activer le développement de ses ressources naturelles, convient d'entreprendre et d'exécuter telles mesures qui, dans l'opinion du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis, peuvent être nécessaires au point de vue de l'hygiène et de l'avancement de la République d'Haïti, sous la surveillance et la direction d'un ou plusieurs ingénieurs qui seront désignés par le Président des Etats-Unis, nommés et autorisés à cette fin par le Gouvernement d'Haïti.

12. Les Etats-Unis auront autorité pour empêcher toute ingérence dans l'accomplissement d'un point (object) quelconque compris dans cette convention; ils auront aussi bien le droit d'intervenir pour la préservation de l'indépendance haïtienne et pour le maintien d'un Gouvernement capable de protéger la vie, la propriété et la liberté individuelle.

13. Le présent traité sera approuvé et ratifié par les hautes parties contractantes conformement à leurs lois respectives, et la ratification sera échangée dans la ville de Washington aussitôt que possible.

14. Le présent traité restera en force et vigueur pendant une durée de dix années à partir du jour de l'échange des ratifications, et en outre pour une autre période de dix années à la demande d'une des parties.

En foi de quoi les Plénipotentiaires ont signé la présente convention en double et y ont apposé leurs sceaux.

APPENDIX NO. 5

Proclamation

To the People of Port-au-Prince, Haiti

Information having been received from the most reliable sources that the present Government of Haiti is confronted with the conditions which they are unable to control, although loyally attempting to discharge the duties of their respective offices; and these facts having created a condition which requires the adoption of different measures than those heretofore applied; and in order to afford the inhabitants of Port-au-Prince, and other territory hereinafter described, the privileges of the government, exercising all the functions necessary for the establishment and maintenance of the fundamental rights of man: I hereby, under my authority as Commanding Officer of the Forces of the United States of America in Haiti and Haitien Waters, proclaim that Martial Law exists in the city of Port-au-Prince and the immediate territory now occupied by the forces under my command.

I further proclaim in accordance with the law of nations and the usages, customs, and functions of my own and other Governments, that I am invested with the power and responsibility of government in all its functions and branches throughout the territory above described and the proper administration of such Government by Martial Law will be provided for in regulations to be issued from time to time, as required, by the Commanding Officer of the Forces of the United States of America in Haiti and Haitien Waters.

The Martial Law herein proclaimed, and the things in that respect so ordered, will not be deemed or taken to interfere with the proceedings of the Constitutional Government and Congress of Haiti, or with the administration of justice in the courts of law existing therein; which do not affect the military operations or the authorities of the Government of the United States of America.

All the municipal and other civil employees are, therefore, requested to continue in their present vocations without change; and the Military Authorities will not interfere in the functions of the Civil Administration and the Courts, except in so far as relates to persons violating military orders or regulations, or otherwise interfering with the exercise of Military Authority. All peaceful citizens can confidently pursue their usual occupa-

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tions, feeling that they will be protected in their personal rights and property, as well as in their proper social relations.

The Commanding Officer of the United States Expeditionary Force, Colonel Littleton W. T. Waller, United States Marine Corps, is empowered to issue the necessary regulations and appoint the necessary officers to make this martial law effective.

Done at the city of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, this third day of September, A.D., 1915.

W. B. CAPERTON
Rear-Admiral, United States Navy,
Commanding the Forces of the United States of America in Haiti and Haitian Waters

APPENDIX NO. 6

MODUS VIVENDI

Considering that, pending the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of September 16, 1915, it is essential that a provisional arrangement be entered into between the two Governments with a view to guarantee the working of the administrative services, the repression of disorder, and the maintenance of public peace:

The following Modus Vivendi has been agreed upon between the Haitian Government and the Government of the United States of America, represented respectively by Louis Borno, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Arthur Bailly-Blanchard, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

The treaty signed September 16, 1915, between the Republic of Haiti and the United States and ratified by the Haitian Chamber of Deputies on October 6, 1915, and by the Haitian Senate on November 11, 1915, shall go provisionally into full force and effect from this date and shall be operated thereunder until the Senate of the United States has acted upon the treaty, under reserve of the details of the operation of the treaty to be arranged at Washington between the Department of State and the Haitian Commission appointed for that purpose.

Signed and sealed in duplicate, in the English and French languages, at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, the twenty-ninth day of November, 1915, by the aforesaid representatives on behalf of their respective Governments.

LOUIS BORNO
A. BAILLY-BLANCHARD

APPENDIX NO. 7

REPUBLIC OF HAITI
State Secretary of Foreign Affairs
Port-au-Prince, December 20, 1915

MEMORANDUM

The Haitian Government is ready to receive from the Occupation the municipal administrations which it has taken over.

As it was understood that a special agreement would be made for each case, the Government asks to resume as soon as possible the administration of the public services of Port-au-Prince, the water-works, and the municipal services. With this object, the United States Legation is informed that the water-works will be taken by Mr. Thomas Price, Engineer, and the municipal administrations by a commission whose members will be named later. The United States Legation will kindly inform the Department of Foreign Affairs of the American officer who will be in charge of returning the administrations to the agents of the Haitian Government, that he is to make out with them all inventories, accounts of works needed, reparations, etc., in short, to carry out the details of the agreement.

When the municipal services of Port-au-Prince are returned to Haitian control, the same procedure shall be applied to the other communes, that is, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the United States Legation respectively shall indicate one or more agents to make out the inventories or accounts of works, reparations, etc., to be carried on under Haitian control, and the agreement for each case shall be sent to the Legation and to the Department of Foreign Affairs.

As for the funds needed to carry on the administrations, for reparations, works, etc., the Haitian Government expects Admiral Caperton to supply them to the Haitian agents designated for these works.

In fact, the revenues of the Government are collected by the Occupation: it has at its disposal only the amounts paid it by Admiral Caperton and which are devoted to the necessities of governmental existence. They are not sufficient to cover, among other things, the expenses of the various water-works and municipalities, expenses which are now paid directly by the American authorities.

The return of these services was the object of a formal agreement established by the Appendix of the Modus Vivendi. This return necessarily involves expenses, and the means of meeting them are a necessary part of this return. Moreover, these expenses are now paid to the American Occupation by Admiral Caperton out of the funds of the Public Treasury; in paying them to the Haitian authorities henceforth, it shall not be considered a new expense.

Consequently, the Haitian Government considers that when the details of the agreement charge expenses against the Haitian Administration, the means of meeting them shall be furnished to the latter out of the funds of the Public Treasury.

Immediate action on the part of the American authorities, in accordance with the present Memorandum, would be highly appreciated by the Haitian Government.

APPENDIX NO. 8

November 15, 1918

Haitian Legation, Washington

In the name of the Government, go without delay, personally, and transmit in writing the following note to the Secretary of State, personally: "Just at the time when Your Excellency is addressing the Haitian Government as the Government of a free and independent nation, just at the time when, thanks to the power of the United States, the sacred principles of law, justice, and respect for small nations are triumphant in the world, the Haitian nation is prey to the distressing and unjust tyranny of American officials who, contrary to the treaty, are trying to impose upon the Republic of Haiti budget laws and taxes, without examining anything with us, without recognizing the right of the Haitian Government even to rectify evident errors, material and others, made in their projects. The Haitian people are very sincerely determined to bring about, with the aid of the American Government, all the reforms which progress demands, but by means of the very cordial cooperation stipulated in the treaty, of cooperation arising from examinations in common and not at all by means of imperative injunctions, announced without respect for national dignity, and sometimes inspired by sentiments of a personal nature, in which the superior interests of the two countries are not considered. Also, the Haitian Government is convinced that the State Department, which is incompletely informed regarding the actual situation in Haiti, will take careful measures for the legitimate satisfaction of the Haitian nation which has full confidence in the noble impartiality of the Honorable Chief of the State Department and the Illustrious Chief of the Government of the United States."

APPENDIX NO. 9

(Copie-traduction)

Le Secrétaire d'Etat présente ses compliments au Chargé d'Affaires ad interim de la République d'Haïti et a l'honneur d'accuser réception de sa Note datée du 20 Novembre, 1918, par laquelle, selon les instructions expresses de son Gouvernement, le Chargé d'Affaires a fait connaitre certaines plaintes contre les actes des fonctionnaires américains, en contravention avec le traité de 1915, entre le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis et le Gouvernement d'Haïti, et dans la quelle le Gouvernement haïtien a exprimé sa conviction que le Département d'Etat jugera à propos

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de prendre des mesures pour donner satisfaction aux désirs légitimes de la nation haïtienne.

En addition aux accusations générales du Gouvernement haïtien touchant "les vexations et la tyrannie injuste des fonctionnaires américains" en Haïti, le Département d'Etat note que le Gouvernement haïtien est de l'opinion que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis n'est pas complètement renseigné au sujet de la vraie situation en Haïti. Comme suite à ces affirmations et en vue de la très sérieuse portée de l'accusation générale contre les fonctionnaires américains en Haïti que la note plus haut mentionnée contient, le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis désire que le Gouvernement d'Haïti fasse une déclaration plus précise et plus détaillée en ce qui regarde les questions exposées dans la note du 20 Novembre, 1918.

ROBERT LANSING

Département d'Etat.
Washington, 30 Novembre, 1918

APPENDIX NO. 10

PROTEST

We, undersigned Senators, assembled in a hall on the corner of Peuple and Dantes Destouches Streets, formerly Pavée Street, temporarily taken over for our legislative work, because of the closing of the National Building for the past month by order of the Executive Power, to prevent us from working there.

After drawing up a report at quarter past four today, stating the impossibility of working in ordinary session, lacking a majority, we were obliged to retire immediately, upon the injunction of an American officer accompanied by Haitian gendarmes, who informed us of the order to leave the hall.

Before this brutal force, and after protesting against this unusual act, we decided to go to the house of M. Paul Laraque, President of the Senate, at Champ-de-Mars, where we drew up this report, to be of whatever service and value it may.

Signed on this day, May 5, 1916.

Suirad Villard	T. Laleau
M. Morpeau	Ls. Ed. Pouget
Dr. D. Désir	Dr. Holland
N. S. Lafontant	C. Cabèche
O. Brice	N. Nelson
Baussan	T. Salnave
F. N. Apollon	C. Latortue
Dr. I. E. Jeanty	L. C. Lhérisson

P. Laraque

APPENDIX NO. 11[51½]

(Copie-traduction)

Port-au-Prince, 7 Avril, 1917

Son Excellence Monsieur Louis Borno,
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,
Port-au-Prince.

Monsieur le Ministre:

En conséquence des instructions du Département d'Etat, j'ai l'honneur d'informer votre Excellence que, après avoir soigneusement examiné le Projet de la Nouvelle Constitution haïtienne, le Departement d'Etat a plusieurs suggestions qu'il considère obligatoires, et susceptibles d'être mises à l'étude et à l'examen par le Gouvernement de votre Excellence préalablement à toute action définitive à cet égard du Corps Législatif.

Le Département avise en outre cette Légation que dans les quelques prochains jours, les suggestions en question seront expédiées par cable.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma haute considération.

A. BAILLY-BLANCHARD,
Ministre Américain.

[51½] This is a translation into French of the original English text which is not now available.

Légation des Etats-Unis d'Amérique
Port-au-Prince, Haiti

11 Avril, 1917

S. E. Monsieur Louis Borno,
Secrétaire d'Etat des Relations Extérieures.

Monsieur le Ministre:

Me référant à ma note du 7 Avril relative à certaines suggestions touchant le projet de la Nouvelle Constitution haïtienne et à mon avis que la Legation serait en possession des suggestions en question dans quelques jours, j'ai l'honneur de dire que mon Gouvernement m'a chargé de porter à l'attention du Gouvernement de Votre Excellence son désir de voir les changements suivants dans le dit projet:

Art. 4. Les étrangers jouiront de toutes les protections accordées aux haïtiens sans exception.

Art. 5. La condition de cinq années de résidence serait écartée. L'intention de faire le commerce et de résider serait ajoutée à la liste des entreprises pour lesquelles la propriété immobilière peut être acquise. L'exception concernant l'intervention diplomatique serait écartée.

Art. 96. Les Secrétaires d'Etat ne recevraient aucun frais de représentation en plus de leurs indemnités.

Art. 97 à 104 inclus: Le Conseil d'Etat n'est pas nécessaire, étant donnée l'existence du Corps Législatif, et les dépenses y afférentes ne sont pas justifiées; à omettre tout ce qui s'y réfère des articles 81, 94 et autres.

Art. 121. Des dispositions seraient prévues pour la poursuite des juges en Cassation et des juges d'appel de la même façon que pour celle des Secrétaires d'Etat.

Art. 131. Serait lu: L'examen et la liquidation des comptes de l'Administration générale et de tous autres offices comptables envers le Trésor Public seront déterminés par la loi.

Les articles 132, 133 et 134 seraient écartés.

Art. 140. Les étrangers jouiraient de toute protection accordée aux haïtiens, sans exception, et en outre, il ne serait pas refusé le droit de réclamer des indemnités pour les torts ou pertes éprouvés.

Article . . . La substance de l'article 4 de l'appendice à la Constitution cubaine ratifiant les actes des Etats-Unis en Haïti durant l'Occupation militaire.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, les assurances de ma haute considération.

H. BAILLY-BLANCHARD,
Minister Américain.

APPENDIX NO. 12

The so-called voting by the people of Haiti on the Constitution prepared in advance for them and rammed down their throats by the Wilson Administration is ridiculed by Dr. Evans. He thus describes it to Secretary Daniels:

"The procession of voters (!) resembled funerals in their silence, solemnity, and mournful character as these people passed along like sheep into courts of justice (?) which were turned that day all through the country into Haitian slaughter houses. Each was especially guarded by the gendarmerie. For the sake of giving a little color to the affair and thus perfecting the farce, a native commissaire or dummy officer sat in the chair by the side of the white officer.

"When entering the court a small white paper, stamped with the words 'Police Administration' and bearing date June 11, 1918, and also the French word 'Oui' (Yes), was placed in the trembling hand of the native, who then was motioned—no word being spoken or question being asked—to the box in front of the white American officer in supreme charge with a native dummy assistant at his side. A bundle of pink papers bearing the French word 'Non' (no) curiously and significantly remained tied together on the table. Thus terrorized and helpless to resist, these people sorrowfully and slavishly submitted, as most

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of them were brought in from small villages guarded and closely watched."[52]

APPENDIX NO. 13

In a memorandum dated January 25, 1919, addressed by the Haitian Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the State Department at Washington in reply to Mr. Robert Lansing's note of November 30, 1918, we quote the following passage:

"When the Haitian newspaper *Le Nouvelliste* announced on November 22, 1918, in most cautious terms and in a tentative way, the recall of the Financial Adviser, even ending its notice with praise for President Wilson, the owner of the paper [M. Chauvet] was arrested by the agents of the Occupation, imprisoned, sentenced by court martial to a fine of $300, and forced to suspend his paper for three months."

For the enlightenment of all, we reproduce the article from *Le Nouvelliste:*

MR. RUAN RECALLED

"It appears that Mr. A. T. Ruan has been relieved of his duties as Financial Adviser as a result of difficulties with our Government. The recall of Mr. Ruan affirms the sentiments of right and justice proclaimed by President Wilson and which, as the eminent statesman has often repeated, must be the compass which guides the relations between all nations, great and small."[53]

"This time also, the mere announcement of this change, although it is made without comment, is sufficient to indicate the nature of the unjust and distressing tyranny practiced by American officials in Haiti toward the Haitian people."[54]

In a communication dated April 5, 1919, Mr. Charles Moravia, Haitian Minister to Washington, recalled this serious incident to the State Department, directing attention to " . . . the excessive severity of these provost courts, ordering punishments out of all proportion to the crime committed." As an example he cited the Chauvet case mentioned in the memorandum of the Haitian Government, dated February 25, 1919, and presented to the State Department on February 14 of the same year. And he added, "there are many others."[55]

In reply to the communication of the Haitian Minister, Mr. Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, said, in reference to the Chauvet case, in his communication of October 10, 1919:

"You refer to the 'excessive severity' of the gendarmerie or provost courts and cite as an instance thereof the case of Chauvet. In regard to this case, it may be stated that *the sentence is considered as in all ways a proper punishment of the offense committed."*[56]

Union Patriotique d'Haïti

THE Union Patriotique d'Haïti is a nonpartisan organization founded at Port-au-Prince, November 17, 1920, to crystallize the national aspirations of the Haitians for the return of their independence, maintained until the American invasion for one hundred and eleven years. Every one of the twenty-seven districts which constitute the Republic of Haiti is represented and the Union has virtually the unanimous support of the entire Haitian people.

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[52] Pastor Evans of the Protestant church of St. Mark (Haiti), in the New York *Herald,* October 25, 1920.
[53] Italics ours.
[54] See Haitian Blue Book, 1921, p. 48.
[55] *Ibid.,* p. 172.
[56] Italics ours. See Haitian Blue Book, 1921, p. 175.

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